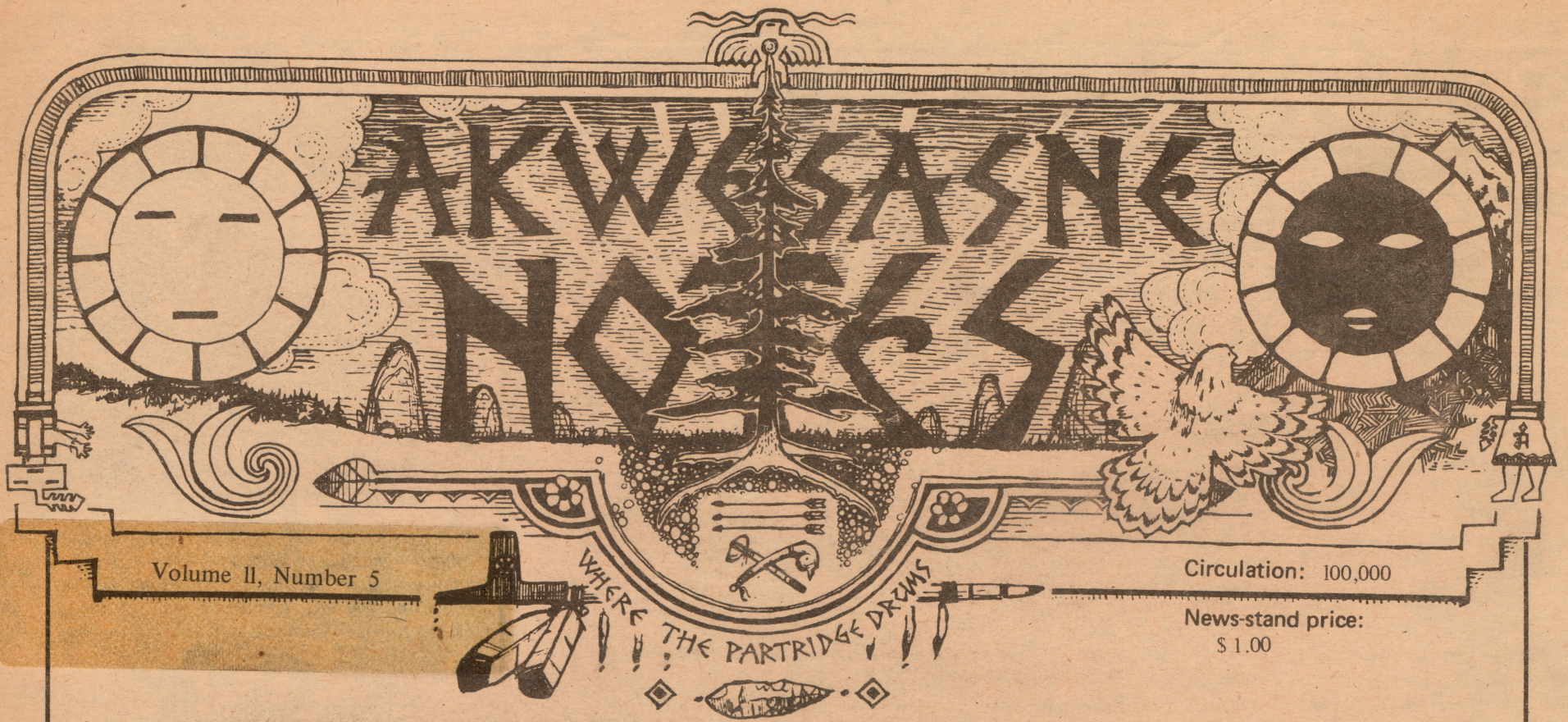




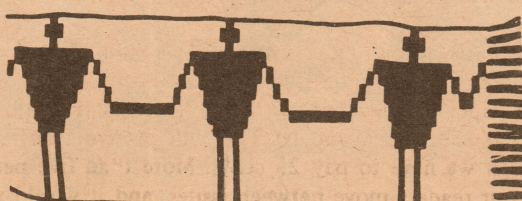
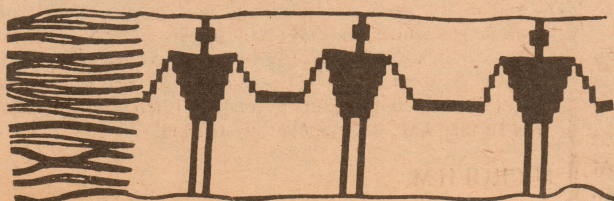
AKWESASNE NOTES Photo by Pamela Giger

A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

EARLY SPRING ISSUE, 1980

IN THIS ISSUE:

■ MOHAWK NATION—LATE FALL—EARLY WINTER—	4
<i>The struggle at Akwesasne continues. So does the strength and knowled go f the People as support reaches them from around the world.</i>	
■ MAINE LAND SETTLEMENT = TERMINATION—	6
<i>The Passamaquodies and Penobscots of Maine stand to get a very raw deal if the government (and their own lawyers) have their way.</i>	
■ N.A.R.F. ETHICS QUESTIONED—	7
<i>An analysis of funding and personell practices at the Native American Rights Fund that may make you wonder whose side they are on.</i>	
■ THE PENDING ENERGY WARS—	8
<i>Part II of Michael Garrity's overview of the final act of genocide facing the Native Nations of North America.</i>	
■ IRAN—AN OBJECTIVE VIEW—	11
<i>NOTES Editor John Mohawk visits Iran as a guest of the Iranian students—a glimpse of the other side of the Iranian question.</i>	
■ PRELUDE TO WAR—	17
<i>The hysteria generated in the American People by their government and media in regards to energy and Iran has a hidden agenda.</i>	
■ SHADES OF BIG MOUNTAIN—	20
<i>NOTES Contributing Editor Winnona LaDuke reports on fight of traditional Navajos and Hopis to remain in their homes.</i>	
■ PINE RIDGE RADIATION STUDY—	22
<i>Oglala women awaken to the rising new health hazzards of living in the wake of uranium mining.</i>	



**AKWESASNE
NOTES**
WHERE THE PARTS OF THE PEOPLE MEET

ISSN: 0002 3949

AKWESASNE NOTES is published five times annually: March, May, July, September, and December. It is published by the Program in American Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo; co-publisher is D-Q University, Box 409, Davis, California.

Editorial and circulation offices are maintained on the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, near Hogansburg, New York, and at locations near Roosevelttown, New York, and Malone, New York.

2ND CLASS POSTAGE Paid at Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683 and at Additional Mailing Office, USPS 956640.

USPS 956-640

Postmaster: send form 3579 and all correspondence to:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
(518) 358-9531

Recipient: Grant from the World Council of Churches Special Fund to Combat Racism (1975), Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalish Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972). Member: Alternative Press Syndicate.

This issue printed by M.R.S. Printing, Gouverneur, New York.

The AKWESASNE NOTES People:

Diane, Eddie, Joyce, Kaientares, Segwalise, Katsi, Howie, Tsiorasa, Charlene, Forrest, Luciano, Carol, Jose, and John. And Charlie. And Mary.

NEEDED FOR NOTES: A copy of Wallace Chafe's book on the Delaware Roundhouse Ceremonies, winter clothing of all sizes, seeds for Spring planting and your assistance in arranging speaking engagements for our Speaker's Bureau (518) 358-9531).

TOTAL COSTS FOR THIS ISSUE WILL EXCEED \$15,000. It will reach some 300,000 people. Help the AKWESASNE NOTES survive. If you are one of those people who have been meaning to send us money but just haven't gotten around to it, please, do it today so that we can continue to produce it.

A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax-deductible. The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation under 501-C-3 of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.



HOW IT IS WITH US

The man on our cover is Phillip Deere.

Probably, if we were to go and pick a man of the decade for the Indian country, we'd pick him.

But, really, we don't pretend to do such a thing as pick THE man of the DECADE.

Yet, wherever we go, it seems that questions about Native leadership are on many peoples' minds these days.

We have wondered to ourselves: is it the time to analyze if maybe we have become too much like that which we are fighting? We have wondered: what are the qualities which in the old ways were demanded of our leaders?

Again and again during the 1970's, individuals spring up who were handed the will of the People. We have wondered to ourselves: where are they now? We have wondered to ourselves: what has been their ability to be integral, to be real, to grow?

We have wondered: why have we encouraged and assisted leadership who have become better known internationally than they are known to their own children?

We have wondered: who touches the bottle. Who is truly loyal to their mate: Who entertains bad thoughts? Who would deceive or terrorize their own People?

Not many names come clear.

This is not to name names, or even to necessarily fault people. We know all too well how difficult it is to keep a family together these days. We know all too well the constant war of attrition upon our minds, upon our belief system.

But, truly, these are hard times and there are worse coming. In too many instances we find our peoples demoralized, confused, taking on the value-less existence of American modern life.

We encourage those that would be leaders to resist that MOST OF ALL. It is more dangerous to our survival than even uranium mining.

The struggle in the 1980's will develop and broaden. The signs that we have watched for are immediately evident. The old principles of consciousness, our instructions as human beings must be taught to the young. But the young — unlike college audiences — don't learn from words: they learn only by example.

Of the leadership in traditional Indian country, we kept coming back to Phillip. When we thought of him, it was a pleasant moment.

For that we say thank you.

Uncle, we send you greetings and hope that these words of appreciation find you and your family in good health.

AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE

P.S. That's how it is with us.



On another note, donations are sorely needed to the food fund for the struggle at encampment at Raquette Point. Mohawk people in struggle have been unable to support their families for eight months and truly deserve our support. Send donations to:

Mohawk Sovereignty Committee
Mohawk Nation
P.O. Box 288
Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683

TO OUR CUSTOMERS:

We have a new catalogue of AKWESASNE NOTES products. Available for one dollar, ten for five dollars.

We have noticed a mistake in one of the printings of the 1980 calendar. From March, forward, your calendar may be off one day. If you wish a replacement, drop us a note and we will send you a correct one.

T-Shirts are once again available. Small, medium and large: Wounded Knee, Unity Under the Creation, Akwesasne Notes face, black on red. \$6.00 each.

Contrary to recent queries, AKWESASNE NOTES no longer carries any Kinnikinnik.

PHONE TREE

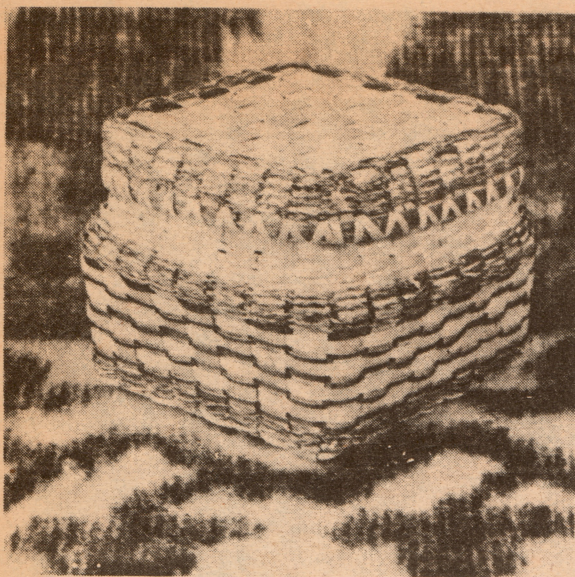
Space does not permit an ANEPT ad this issue. Phone Tree'ers should watch for Bulletin number 2 — which will activate a 4-day campaign on behalf of the Yanonmamo Nation of Brazil.

There are 230 participants as of today. Every week a couple of dozen names comes in.

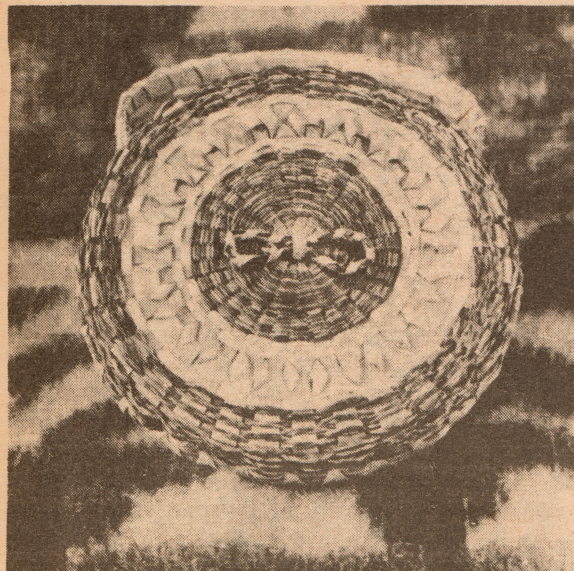
Any questions regarding the Phone Tree should be addressed to our ANEPT Coordinator, Mary Munoz, PO Box 21, Woodstock, N.Y. 12498.

IROQUOIS BASKETRY STYLES

A-3 — Square Sweet Grass Basket; Dyed or Natural Splint, size 6 1/2" x 6 1/2". **\$12.50**



A-2 — Fancy Sweet Grass Basket; Dyed or Natural splint, approximate size 8" x 6" **\$12.50**



BACK ISSUES FOR \$6

The entire set of available back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available at \$6.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately twenty-four issues of the newspaper in each set.

Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price—but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue will cost over \$6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about \$4,000. And there are other expenses — typesetting equipment, typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as \$1, \$5, \$10. Some people have lots of money, others have none — we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than \$700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
(518) 358-9531

KEEP US STRONG!

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three or four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose — to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine — it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world — the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper — it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

Ours is a most difficult task, for we are trying to help people who have some kind of interest and concern for their people to understand and to unite with other peoples who have what appear on the surface to be separate and different concerns. We believe that the concerned people can come to one mind about their concerns, and we would like to be a part of the process which may help this to happen. But we are, after all, only a newspaper, a reflection — you, the reader, are a participant in the processes which make the kind of life we and our children will lead in this world. We offer our work as a tool in your work — help us grow so that NOTES will be a stronger tool. Promote NOTES — tell people about it, generate interest in the issues we cover. In that way, we will all grow stronger.

MICROFILM

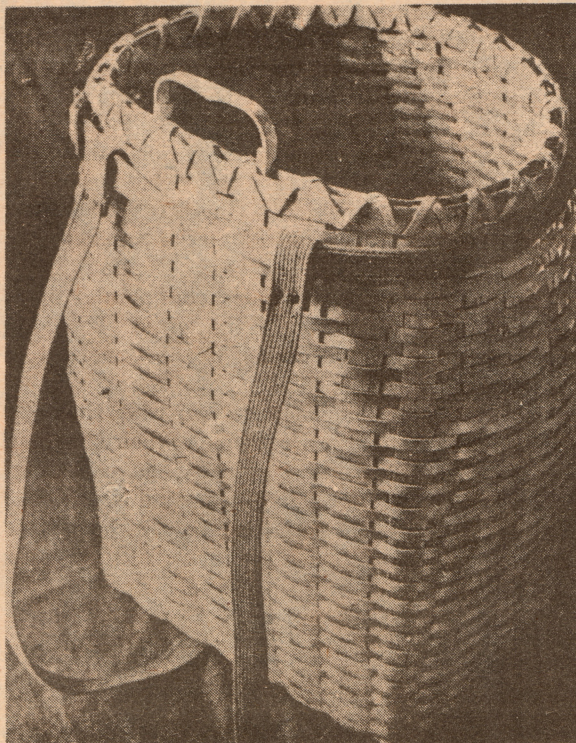
AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms (\$4.60 and \$6/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

KTO Microform
Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd.
Rte 100
Milwood, N.Y. 10546

The Mohawk Pack-basket



12" — \$18.00; 16" — \$20.00; 18" — \$26.00. All basket orders should be addressed to Kaintares, %AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683. Prepaid orders only. Price of packbasket includes harness, postage and handling.

Mohawk Nation--Late Fall--Early Winter

Our crisis continues at Akwesasne. Although the New York State Police have not launched another physical attack on the Mohawk people they are still evident. We still don't know if one night they will move in on us.

There are what appears to be minor events, which occur when people are in the midst of a long drawn out crisis situation, such as is happening at Akwesasne. These seemingly minor or daily happenings can become major motivators of change in the long run. This article will tell of one such event, which has had international impact.

Many, many people come to see us and offer their support, their encouragement and their help. We've grown to love many of these people.

Luciano Neri is a young, slightly built, Italian man who came to see our struggle. He had little, if any, experience with the English language which was a great hinderance, at first. Luckily, one of our people speaks Spanish and he could help Luciano begin to bridge the language barrier. We had no idea on that crisp fall day last October, when Luciano first came to see us, what an important role the young man would play in future history—making events in the Mohawk struggle for sovereignty.

Luciano saw our battle clearly. It's a battle for survival of a whole Nation of Mohawk people — it is a battle for our right to exist as a people — as Mohawk people. It's a battle for our right to govern ourselves. We had no idea that Luciano had connections with the Italian Representative to the European Parliament. We accepted him and he us, and we worked on the language barrier. Luciano really loves to eat, as we found out, and he was fascinated with such foods as maple syrup, parched corn mush, squash, fry bread — foods which he did not eat in Italy. As he came more familiar with our people, he began to make calls across the ocean and to tell people of our struggle. He worked hard to translate our Thanksgiving Greetings into Italian. (It took him quite some time to accomplish this!) He began to pick up the Mohawk language and speak it with us. He became a part of our community.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT — JANUARY 17, 1980

Luciano began translating the information on our struggle into Italian and sending it to Mario Capanna, the Italian member of the European Parliament which is an association of European Nations. Mr. Capanna presented the Mohawk case, in the form of a five—page resolution, on the floor of the European Parliament. After much discussion, on January 17, 1980 the European Parliament pass a resolution recognizing the violations of Mohawk Human Rights, and in support of the Mohawk Nations' struggle for self—determination and sovereignty.



Mr. Capanna wired the Mohawk Nation: "Under the rules of the European Parliament, 25 sponsors are required for a resolution of this type to reach discussion on the floor of the Parliament. Far more than this required number. . . supported the resolution. . . In accepting the matter for further study, the European Parliament determined that the Mohawk Nation's right of self—determination is a serious subject of international concern."

The European Parliament also decided to send a representative to Akwesasne to further investigate the issues. We then learned that Mr. Capanna would be coming to Mohawk Nation Territory to meet with the Mohawk people and gather evidence of the violations of Mohawk human rights.

John Lambert, a staff member of one of the independent political groups on the European Parliament, commented: "The interesting thing, is that there was a very mixed range of parliamentarians supporting it (the Akwesasne position). They see this as one example of what's happening all over the world with the remaining indigenous people being repressed for the so—called economic progress."

MOHAWK NATION WELCOMES ITALIANS — FEBRUARY 9, 1980

The air was filled with a sense of excitement and a feeling of togetherness, unity, on that Saturday night of February 9th. We were going to see some films produced by a film—maker, White Buffalo, from Woodstock, New York. We also had heard that Mario Capanna would be arriving at some point during the evening. We had many guests that weekend from the support groups in New York City and Woodstock.

As I entered the long building, which had been constructed during this crisis for housing and school, the long downstairs room was divided in half by white sheets which would serve as the screen for the movies. On one side were all the children and some adults talking with them. As I peeked on the other side of the sheet there was the other half of the long room filled with adults.

One of the important factors in this crisis is that the Mohawk people have a belief system that keeps them happy, strong, and united. We work toward making sure that each and every one of us is highly valued, by all of us. As a Nation, we have a sense of belonging — belonging to the natural order of the world which the Creator gave us which pervades everything we do. It's a sense of unity, of mind and spirit that one feels, almost overwhelmingly, when the people gather. We felt it that night.

Our first short movie, purely for entertainment, was a old time Charlie Chaplan movie. People were laughing at the slapstick comedy, but with one exception. When one of the characters began hitting a woman — no one laughed. That is forbidden in our ways.

The next presentation was entitled, "Prophecy." It took all of us through mixed, entangled emotions. It scared some of the children. It told of the prophecies of the Aztec, Mayan, Tibetans, among many other peoples, which foretold the events we see happening today and will be seeing in the future. It became clear that in these next ten to twenty years we are going to see tremendous changes in the natural world. We were exposed to some frightening, almost incomprehensible concepts of changes, destruction of our world as we now know it. Yet, we too have our own prophecies and we could relate to much of the film.

White Buffalo spoke after the film telling us how strongly he feels that the Native Peoples are the ones who hold the key to understanding and changing this world into a better world for all of humanity.

The next short presentation was so powerful because it was filmed on the day the Longest Walk arrived in Washington, D.C. The impact of the film hit us as we saw, not only Native People walking on Washington to protest, but many other people protesting abortion,

protesting nuclear plants. The signs were strongly worded to convey the united knowledge that we can not continue to allow the oppressive governments, and the multi—nationals to destroy people and the environment. The unity of peoples struggles was strong and clear. We are all oppressed and we must be able to identify the oppressor.

White Buffalo's next presentation on "Mexico" was being shown for the very first time. He has used a three screen approach which is a unique, effective approach. The presentation began with scenes of the market place in Mexico. I couldn't help but notice that in all those scenes the food was home—grown, fresh and wholesome. There was not one single packaged, processed, or chemically defiled food. It raised a curiosity of mine—I wanted to know about the health of the people. I would be willing to bet that when the oppression of poverty does not deny them access to food, they are healthier than the average American who eats nothing but pre-packaged, canned, or chemically-laden foods.

The Mexico movie then started showing the magnificent ancient ruins of the Aztecs and Mayans. At this point there was an announcement: "Our guest have arrived." The movie was stopped and the sheets pulled out of the way. The people moved their chairs to leave an open area in the middle of the long room.

The Chiefs of the Mohawk Nation and several Chiefs from the Onondaga Nation sat in a row on one side of the open area. Then, four Italians, two women and two men came in and sat in a row on the opposite side of the open area. I noticed one of the women looked very nervous, uneasy, unsure of herself and tired. One of our Chiefs gave the greetings, in Mohawk. He said how glad all of us are that have arrived safely into the territory of the Haudenosaunee (Six Nations) and into the Mohawk Nation Territory. He talked of the long journey from Italy to the Mohawk Nation. As is customary, he extended greetings from the Elders, men, women, children, even from the children still on the cradleboard.

After he spoke, another of the Mohawk Chiefs translated the greetings into English. As he translated, he paused often so that the words could be translated into Italian for Mario Capanna. After the greeting, the Mohawk people formed a line to go up and shake hands with our guests. The Chiefs were first, then the Clan Mothers, Faithkeepers, the men, women and children of the Mohawk Nation. Our guest stood as we shook hands with them. There was much smiling and hearty handshaking and good words to greet our guests.

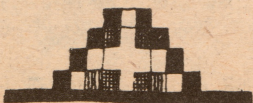
After we were seated once again, Oren Lyons, an Onondaga Chief spoke. He again extended greetings and talked of the Italian, Mario Capanna, who took the time and effort to introduce our struggle in the European Parliament. As he spoke, again there were pauses so the



words could be translated for Mario Capanna. Oren Lyons finished his talk with, "We remember another man from your country who came to our country a long time ago" — pause for translation — "he was lost." Again, the translation. And everyone laughed an uproarious laugh, including our guests. He was, of course, referring to Columbus!

At this point Mr. Capanna rose to speak to the people. He told us that when Luciano first called him across the ocean and told him of the Mohawk people's struggle, it would have been easy to lay it to one side because he was very busy with their own problems. "But," he said, "he too remembered one of his fellow countrymen who had come to this country a long time ago, and it seemed only fitting to him that another Italian man might be able to come to our country and assist us with our struggle." We all laughed again. Mario Capanna said a greetings to us in Mohawk, which he had been rehearsing all the way from New York. It was special that he would take the time and effort to try to learn some of our language. It touched the hearts of the people.

another
folder.



He went on to discuss his resolution to the European Parliament which requested support and an investigation into the human rights violations being committed against the Mohawks by the United States and New York State and the interference with the self-determination of the Mohawk people by the U.S. and New York State.

He made the offer to have representative of the Mohawk Nation go to Italy and meet with the European Parliament, Italian citizens and journalists from Italy.

After Mr. Capanna finished speaking, arrangements were made for the guests to rest after their long journey. Before they left there was one welcoming song for them. I remember glancing at Mario Capanna and on his face I saw a mixture of awe, puzzlement, amazement and I had the feeling he was impressed by the Mohawk people. The woman guest who I had noticed as being somewhat nervous now had a look of calmness, happiness and of being relaxed. Our guests then departed to rest.

Some of the people left, but many stayed (it was very late by this time) to see the remainder of the "Mexico" presentation. It started again at the ruins and spent much time explaining the symbolism of those ruins. As we watched, another woman turned to me and we both said that we recognized much of the symbolism, but that we had another interpretation of it based on our unique cultural background. It was a pleasant feeling to be able to identify with these people of so long ago.

A HECTIC DAY, AT AKWESASNE

The next day, Feb. 10, 1980, was a flurry of activity. It began with an interview with one of our Chiefs. He was answering questions posed by some of the people in the support groups from New York City and Woodstock. There were many tape recorders and microphones catching every word. He spoke of our treaties with the Dutch, French, and England. As this interview progressed some of the women left to get lunch ready.

In the kitchen were discussions on food, — white flour vs. whole wheat flour — what is healthy for us as human beings. We, the women decided to meet later that afternoon to discuss this further.

Meanwhile there was a meeting going on, which had been in progress since earlier in the day, of the Chiefs and our Italian guests. They broke for lunch, ate and quickly returned to their meeting.

After lunch we met with a lady from the Woodstock support group who does Reflexology, which is a form of acupressure for the feet. Again, we talked about white flour having no nutritional value, that everything healthy in it has been extracted so the flour will last longer on the shelf and the big businesses can make more money. We talked about plants that are medicines, and about eating food that will keep up healthy. The meeting had started with only four women, but as it progressed more women came, then men and children. Soon, we were doing acupressure on our own and each others feet. Later on, Kashima, who is a Buddhist Monk, came and joined us. He does another form of acupressure and all of us learned from him.

Meanwhile, upstairs in the AKWESASNE NOTES office an interview (taping session) was being held with one of our associate editors. He spoke of the history of this crisis, the history of the oppression of our peoples. He told us that nature is necessary for our survival so we must take care of the earth. He said we need a radical lifestyle against those things that oppress us. He said we need to raise our consciousness, our awareness, to break our dependence on K-Mart, General Motors, and Safeway and being to take care of ourselves. He discussed how in 10 years the air, water and land in this area will be so polluted that it will no longer be able to support life and that it would take 200 years to clean this area of pollution, if that is even possible. We must move to other parts of our homeland which can still support and sustain life, he said to us.

I had to leave that interview because a lady from British television arrived. We had spoken earlier about the possibility of doing a documentary on language and the Mohawk people. She was to meet with one of our Chiefs, but he was still in the meeting with the Italian guests so I showed her around and introduced her to people. She couldn't help but express her astonishment at the amount of pollution she could see coming from the big factories near us. She never did get to speak with our Chiefs because she had to leave and they were still in their meeting.

It was now 6:30 p.m. We heard that there were some Italian journalists on their way from the Olympics to see us. There was a break for supper during which our Italian guests and the Chiefs emerged, finally. We ate and the Chiefs quickly returned to another area because the Italian journalists had arrived and the interview started.

Our Chiefs spoke with them about our international treaties which had the purpose of securing peace, and alliance as brothers and respect between nations with a mutual understanding of one another. Treaties were broken by the U.S. and our land was taken away. Today it is the same, except today, they have so-called "legal" land thefts. He told the Italian journalist that New York State and the United States have set up a neo-colonial government in our territory and are seeking absolute control of every Mohawk Person's life in direct violation of international treaty rights. He said that although it is quiet now, we don't know from day-to-day when violence could become a reality again if the U.S. came forcefully into our territory as they had attempted to do on August 29, 1979. He said that although we've been captive in our own territory for nearly 8 months now, no one has been hurt or killed and we hope in the months to come this peace will continue.

As this interview continued the people gathered in the long building again for a very special social dance to honor our guest from Italy. Social dances are a happy time in the Mohawk Nation as we gather to be with each other and have an evening of social dancing. In between the dances, the Chiefs speak with the people. It is an educational time for everyone. They remind us how we

should treat each other as human beings.

The Chiefs had instructed us to urge our guests to dance. They were very reluctant to try it but the men finally pulled Mario Capanna into the dance and he enjoyed himself. As the next song began he got right up and joined the dance. There was such a feeling for this man which began the first evening as he arrived. He liked to laugh, to joke with us, to try to speak our language. He enjoyed being with the people and we could sense his feelings for us although we couldn't talk directly with him about it. These are the things that people feel that are in our senses, our spirits, that are shared without using words.

MOHAWKS DEMONSTRATE — FEBRUARY 18, 1980

It was a cold day with a chilling wind that the Mohawk people demonstrated in Saranac Lake, New York. Mohawk people of all ages came, women with shawls over their coats, men with fringed leather tops over their coats and children bundled up against the cold wind. The drummers and singers led the long line with the Mohawk people behind them and the many support people behind them. Supporters came to join us in this protest of the United States violation of Mohawk human rights and the violations of solemn international treaties.

Before we left the encampment at Racquette Point, Chief Tom Porter had instructed us to be of a good mind. He said that if a non-Indian should come up to us and say, "Hey, Indian what are you doing" — that we should tell them to talk to the three people who had been chosen as spokespersons for that day and that we should ignore any taunting from on-lookers. He told us that we should remember that the Creator would be with us and he would see that the people are strong, united, and that we continue His Original Instructions. It was a strong feeling that we felt as we walked that day. We felt both a mixture of humility and of being so strong in the Creator's Ways as to being about almost a feeling of being invincible against overwhelming odds. That's the power of the Creator's message.

As we walked we did get a reaction from a on-looker. A car went by slowly, and a young non-Indian woman was sitting on the widow so that she was outside of her car and she had her arm raised fist clenched. She was shouting, "Custer had it coming." We laughed and felt good inside that someone in this small upstate New York town was sensitive to our struggle.

Almost everyone carried signs as we marched, singing as we went, the signs read: "MOHAWK MARCH FOR SOVEREIGNTY" — "SUPPORT HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE MOHAWK NATION" there were many more.

Only 10 miles away, at Lake Placid, the 1980 Winter Olympics were in progress and journalists from all over the world were gathered at the Olympics totally unaware of the fact that "The Mohawks are 'Hostages' in Our Own Land." At the press conference Mario Capanna said that "He feels definitely that the United States is not

MOHAWK NATION CONTINUED ON PAGE 31



Maine Land Settlement = Termination

Proposed settlement bills have been presented to the Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Maliseet Indians which, if implemented, will effectively terminate the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies, opening their lands to state and local taxation. The bills will also subject them entirely to state jurisdiction. Their governments will be reduced to the status of municipal governments. The proposed settlement, which is being described in the press as a windfall to the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Nations, is actually a disastrous setback to Native rights in general and practically wipes out aboriginal rights in Maine. The Native people of Maine are being herded into accepting a land claims settlement which not only does not return lands to their control, but actually implements most of the aspects of the termination bills of the 1950s. Practically every right that Native people have is expressly given up within the settlement.

In late winter, Native people in Maine learned that a tentative settlement had been reached in the matter of their land claim. The Maine land claim has been probably the most sensational claim to be asserted by Native people this century. The claim arose when a Passamaquoddy woman found documents in a box in her attic which substantiated allegations that most of the lands of the Native peoples of Maine had been illegally taken from them. Court decisions seemed to suggest that the unlawfulness of past land takings could be redressed in United States courts because the terms of the takings were in violation of a 1790 federal statute which required Congressional approval of land transactions involving Native peoples.

The Passamaquoddies approached the Interior Department about their claim in early 1972 with a request that Interior enter into a lawsuit on their behalf against the State of Maine to recover their lands. Interior refused. A similar request to the Justice Department concerning a proposed suit challenging a 1796 treaty also met with refusal from the government's representatives.

But the Passamaquoddies didn't give up. In the summer of 1972 they filed suit in federal court against the Interior Department and the Justice Department for refusing to protect their rights. The lawyer for the Passamaquoddies was Thomas Tureen, a lawyer with the Colorado-based Native American Rights Fund. National attention focussed on the Maine land claims on February 11, 1975 when the District Federal Court in Portland, Maine, ruled that the Passamaquoddies are in fact entitled to protection under the law and that the Interior Department has a responsibility to take at least some steps to protect their interests. That ruling impacted the State of Maine in September of 1976 when the Boston firm of Ropes and Ray failed to give legal clearance for a \$1 million sewer bond issue for the town of Millinocket because of the land claim. That occurrence also received wide coverage in the national press.

Attorney Tom Tureen sounded confident after the 1975 *Passamaquoddy* decision. "No legal issues are left to be decided," he said. "All we have to do now is prove the extent of the aboriginal holdings. Precedent covered everything else. The hardest part of the case is over."

That statement may have been premature. In January 1977, the Interior Department asked the Justice Department to file a lawsuit on behalf of the Penobscots (who had earlier joined the case) and the Passamaquoddies. The Justice Department then let it be known that they didn't want to go to court in this matter. The federal government then announced their strategy in this matter — they wanted a negotiated settlement.

Early in 1977, President Carter announced the appointment of a "special representative" to negotiate a settlement which would go to Congress for approval. His choice for this post was Judge William B. Gunter, a retired Georgia Supreme Court Judge.

To make a long story short, negotiations have continued over the ensuing three years. Judge Gunter's effort produced a proposed negotiation settlement which was rejected by the Native people, and negotiation committees were directed to come up with a new package.

This year, the Native communities were advised of a new proposed settlement. Meetings were held in the Passamaquoddy communities, the settlement was shown

to people, a vote of hands was taken of the people at the meeting, and that quickly the matter was considered to have been agreed upon by the Passamaquoddies.

In the Penobscot land, people learned that a referendum was to be held on March 15 to allow them a chance to vote on the settlement. The Penobscots were given less than six days notice, a development which prompted some of them to comment that the proposal was being "rammed" through. NARF attorney Tom Tureen came to some of the meetings in order to promote the settlement. At one meeting, a Penobscot woman pointed to a section of the settlement bill which said, in part:

"Any transfer of land or other natural resources within the Passamaquoddy Indian Territory or the Penobscot Indian Territory, except takings for public use consistent with the Main Implementing Act or the laws of the United States, shall be void *ab initio* and without any validity in law or equity unless made by or with the consent of the respective Tribe or Nation and with the approval of the Secretary..." (Sec. 5, e2).

The woman wanted to know if that section meant that a Passamaquoddy couldn't sell or transfer land to another Passamaquoddy without the approval of the Tribe and the approval of the Secretary of Interior. Tom Tureen offered the explanation that the law doesn't really mean that, and that when the legislative history comes out, it will be clear that the provision is intended to apply only to transfers of land to non-Penobscots. The woman persisted. She pointed out that the proposed bill that the Penobscot people were being urged to approve says in plain English "any transfer of land..." and it doesn't say anything about exceptions. Tureen countered with words to the effect that the bill doesn't really mean what the words say and that somehow the concern that had been raised would be corrected in a "legislative history" which will materialize after the referendum!

Someone else raised the point that the proposed settlement bill contained references to a "settlement agreement" between the parties to the claim which must exist somewhere as a document and they asked to see a copy of that agreement. (Section 2:8 of the bill refers to such an agreement.) At first, Tureen fudged. Then, under heavy direct questioning, he finally admitted that such an agreement exists but that it's really the same thing as the proposed legislation. He was asked to produce a copy of the agreement, but he replied that the document was in somebody's office somewhere. End discussion.

The Penobscots were being asked, in effect, to give their approval to a complex legislative scheme involving separate state and federal bills with less than six days notice and to give approval to a settlement agreement that they had never seen.

A large group of Penobscots who were dissatisfied with the handling of the claim organized in opposition to the settlement. They sought the assistance of Robert T. Coulter of the Indian Law Resource Center in Washington, D.C., to help analyze the bills. On March 13 Coulter issued a memorandum summarizing his reading of the proposed legislation. His memo read in part:

Passage of the bills with the approval of the Penobscot Nation would end the land claims and virtually terminate the sovereignty of the Nation. Many fundamental rights of Indian nationhood would be given up by the bills.

The following major points are notes:

1. *The draft Settlement Agreement on which the bills are based has not been made available for review nor made public.*

2. *There is no legal guarantee that Congress will appropriate the money to create the promised Settlement Fund and the Land Acquisition Fund. The bills would extinguish the claims, but without actually guaranteeing payment in return.*

3. *The bills will place the Penobscot Nation and its lands entirely under the jurisdiction of the State, except for certain internal matters. The Department of the Interior will have vastly increased bureaucratic control over the Penobscot lands. The sovereignty of the Nation*

will be effectively terminated and the Nation changed into a form of municipal government.

4. *All Penobscot lands and personal property will become effectively subject to State and local taxation. Furthermore, there will be no exemption from State sales and income taxes, and other State and local taxes as is enjoyed today here and on other Indian lands.*

5. *In exchange for extinguishing the Penobscot land claim and extinguishing Penobscot title to all claimed lands and resources outside the present reservation, the bills would authorize a Settlement Fund and a Land Acquisition Fund to be held and administered by the Secretary of the Interior. If money is made available for the funds, the Secretary of the Interior will have the final say over the use of the funds, not the Nations. No money will be paid to the Nation except the income from one half of the settlement fund.*

6. *The lands to be purchased are not described or identified in any way. No particular lands and no specified amount or type of lands are assured by the bills.*

7. *Land purchased by the Secretary of the Interior using the Land Acquisition Fund will not have the same legal protection as Indian lands elsewhere:*

— *The land will apparently be owned "in trust" by the United States, not owned by the Nation.*

— *The lands will be subject to eminent domain taking.*

— *The federal Non-intercourse Act and other federal legal safeguards will not apply.*

— *The Secretary of the Interior will have the final say over how the lands will be used.*

— *All transfers of Penobscot lands, even between Penobscots, will require the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and the Nation.*

8. *The bills would remove the Nation's sovereign immunity from suit, except to the limited extent that a municipal government has such immunity. Judgments won against the Nation could be paid by the Secretary of the Interior out of the income that would otherwise be paid to the Nation.*

9. *The bills provide that all of the federal laws which protect Indian people and lands elsewhere in the United States will not apply in the State of Maine.*

10. *The State of Maine will be freed from all claims resulting from its handling of Nation funds without any requirement of a proper accounting.*

11. *The Nation's reservation could not be enlarged without approval by the State and approval of a special commission to be established by the proposed bills. The commission would have a majority of non-Indian members.*

Many other problems with the proposed bills are also apparent, such as the absence of clear protections and guarantees of the Nation's governmental powers. I have not tried to list all such dangers here. Clearly these proposed bills could not be safely accepted without giving up most of the essential elements of Indian nationhood and sovereignty.

The Passamaquoddy Tribal Councils and the Penobscot tribal government have apparently given their blessings to the settlement. The federal government has been pouring money into these tribal governments for the past few years. The tribal councils have apparently decided to give up all their rights as Native people in exchange for these program monies. If the proposed settlement is agreed upon by the Native people in Maine, this will be the first case in history in which a Native people have actually agreed to their own effective termination as a people. It is a frightening comment on the political objectives of the State of Maine, the United States government, NARF and the few souls in the Maine Indian communities who participated in the process. It should be mentioned that there is grave doubt about whether the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot peoples have agreed to this settlement, and whether they were given an opportunity to properly understand the legislative schemes which are being imposed upon them.

The Maine case should serve as a warning to other Native peoples about the actual objectives of federal policy in respect to Native peoples rights. The termination period hasn't ended. Perhaps it has really just gotten under way.

N.A.R.F.'s Ethics Questioned

The Native American Rights Fund (NARF) is the largest and probably the most famous law firm in the area of Native affairs. NARF lawyers have been the subject of major articles in a number of nationally-distributed news magazines, including *Parade*, a Sunday supplement in newspapers across the country. NARF is known to the public as a privately-funded public interest type law firm which specializes in Native peoples' causes and which gets involved in litigation in such politically sensitive areas as Native water rights, hunting and fishing issues and, among others, land claims.

In fact, NARF is the law firm which has handled (and is handling) such legal cases as the Maine (Passamaquoddy, Penobscot and Maliseet) land claim, and the Oneida and Catawba land claims. All in all, NARF is involved in most of the highly-publicized and deeply controversial Indian litigation cases presently in progress in the United States. What is not widely known about NARF is that its programs, including its land claims litigation programs, are largely financed by the federal government, and that NARF has not been telling its clients about that source of funding. NARF has also played a major role in the creation and operation of energy development organizations such as the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), and NARF has what could be described as a "revolving door" personnel program relative to the Interior Department's Solicitor's Office.

NARF began its work as an organization which was largely privately funded. A review of NARF's annual reports shows that seven years ago, less than a quarter of their budget came from federal sources. It can be argued that other public interest type law firms which are similar to NARF also take federal dollars, but as a rule, those organizations make political decisions to avoid that source of funding because the federal government is often a direct or an indirect adversary to the rights of their clients. For example, organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Lawyers' Guild, the highly prestigious NAACP Legal Defense Program, and MALDEF (the Mexican-American legal defense program) have avoided excessive dependence on federal funding especially in areas concerning litigation. In other words, when those organizations do accept federal funding, that funding represents a low percentage of their overall operating budget and is not used in litigation. The theory which is most often heard explaining that policy on behalf of public interest legal organizations is that it is unwise to become financially dependent on an adversary which may then have the power to withdraw its support in the middle of crucial litigation matters.

The trend at NARF has been to ignore that principle. NARF's funding sources figures from 1973 to 1978 (we don't have figures for 1975) show a distinct pattern of increasing federal funding:

	Private Foundations	Govt.	Gen'l Public
1973	72%	23%	5%
1974	76	17	7
1976	58	24.5	11
1977	54	35	8
1978	43.5	43.8	9

In 1978, the single largest source of funds for NARF was the federal government. NARF's 1979 report will show 59% of their budget was derived from federal sources that year. Private funding sources speculate that the percentage of NARF's budget which is derived from federal sources could go even higher in 1980. An increasing amount of federal dollars are being used by NARF for litigation purposes.

In 1977 a controversy around NARF arose in the public media because of allegations that federal funds were being used for litigation of the Maine land claims. Tom Fredericks, who was then Director of NARF, told the press that no federal monies were being used to maintain the Indian land claims litigations in the Northeast. He was apparently telling the truth at the time, but subsequent NARF reports to their federal

funding agencies indicate that federal monies have been used for litigation purposes in 1978 and 1979 in land claims litigation work in the Oneida and the Maine cases.

NARF attorney Tom Tureen, the man who heads the Indian side of the legal machinery in the Maine land claim case, seems to be confused on that issue. Recently, he told several Penobscot people in Maine that there are no federal monies involved in any litigation proceedings in the Maine case. He has refused to tell at least one local reporter anything at all about funding. The fact is that NARF's 1978 report to a federal funding agency shows that part of Tureen's salary was derived from federal funds, and that the hours that were claimed were attributed to Maine land claims work.

In a Washington, D.C. interview on March 14, 1980, AKWESASNE NOTES asked current NARF Director John Echohawk to tell us just how much of NARF's present budget comes from federal sources. He said, "about one-half, maybe a little more." We then asked him how he justified that level of federal funding in light of the fact that similar organizations feel it is an unwise policy for law firms whose clients have interests which can be defined as adverse to the interests of the federal government to become dependent on federal monies. He replied that NARF has thought about it, and has decided that federal monies do not interfere with or influence their work, and if those monies did interfere with their work, NARF would reject the monies. He further indicated that he felt that acceptance of federal monies by a law firm was a matter of policy decision, style, and opinion.

We then asked Mr. Echohawk if NARF informs its clients that NARF receives litigation monies from the federal government, and that the federal government is a party which has interests which are adverse to the claims of Indian peoples. His reply: "No, we don't. If they ask, then we tell them. But we don't make it a policy to tell them about federal sources of funding."

He went on to say that the fact that NARF accepts federal funding is public information and appears in NARF's annual report, which is "widely distributed." But NARF's annual reports don't show specifically what the federal monies are used for, and certainly don't indicate that the federal government directly funds litigation.

Mr. Echohawk went on at some length defending NARF's policy of accepting federal funds for litigation purposes. NARF's decision to accept federal funds for those purposes can be argued as a political decision. The fact that the Director of NARF admits that his law firm does not inform his clients about the source of litigation funds is a separate issue.

The canons of ethics of the legal profession require lawyers to tell their clients about any compensation that they receive from anyone other than the client. Those same canons virtually forbid an attorney to accept compensation from any source with an adverse interest to the client, particularly when that source is in a position to exercise strong social, economic, political or other influence, either subtly or directly, against the lawyer(s). A lawyer must exercise extreme care in those situations where the source of compensation other than the client might influence the attorney's judgment even in subtle ways. The principle expressed by the canon of ethics is that the client must approve of that source of funding. The client, not the lawyer, must decide whether or not the source of compensation might effect the lawyer's judgment in any way.

The federal government would appear to be manifestly in a position to exercise social, economic and political influence over NARF's attorneys. Mr. Echohawk's assertion that NARF lawyers faithfully represent their clients and that therefore it is not necessary that they tell their clients about federal sources of compensation in litigation matters is a view which appears to be in absolute conflict with the canons of ethics which govern the conduct of attorneys. The canons of ethics are specifically designed to allow the client to make that decision, not the lawyer.

Because of its dependency on federal funding, NARF can be seen to be in no position to be a vigorous advocate in support of Indian rights. A lawyer should be

in a position to be an unfettered advocate for a client's interests. Even in cases where there are no visible "strings" attached to federal dollars, it can readily be seen that a law firm dependent on federal sources of funding is limited to doing that work which the federal government is willing to pay for. Once an organization becomes *absolutely* dependent on federal monies, many decisions must be made on the basis of consideration of what will or will not attract federal dollars.

This will be true regardless of NARF's people's intentions. No one would believe that federal funding would have no influence on the kinds of strategies they will be able to take in order to defend Indian peoples' rights. Even if they are capable people with good will, they are not in a position to be unfettered advocates of Indian rights.

NARF's personnel history would suggest that some of NARF's people may be vulnerable to the "subtle influences" of the federal government in terms of their professional, political, and social lives. Some of NARF's staff have worked very closely with the Interior Department's Indian affairs people. NARF Attorney Larry Ashenbrenner is a former Assistant Solicitor for Indian Affairs with the Interior Department. Staff Attorney Don Miller used to be a lawyer with the Office of the Solicitor, Division of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior. Susan Harjo, who is on the staff but is not an attorney, only last year left her job as Special Assistant to Forrest Gerard, then—Undersecretary of Interior for Indian Affairs. She had also worked at NARF before she took the job in Gerard's office.

The man who preceded John Echohawk as Director of NARF, Tom Fredericks, went from NARF to become Associate Solicitor for Indian Affairs. As Associate Solicitor of Indian Affairs he expressed the position that by virtue of the Doctrine of Discovery, Indian people lost all title to their lands upon the "discovery" of the Americas by Europeans and that Indian people retain only such rights as the United States cares to grant them. As of this writing, Mr. Fredericks is working as a consultant in Denver, but he is presently the most-often mentioned candidate for the job Forrest Gerard left as Undersecretary of Interior.

AKWESASNE NOTES asked Mr. Echohawk about this policy of hiring not simply government lawyers for a law firm expressly created to defend Native peoples' rights, but actually hiring exactly those same individuals who had defended the federal government's interests in direct opposition to Native peoples' rights. He (not we) compared the situation to that in which lawyers and others go from government to private industry. We asked him if he could understand that the history of NARF people moving over to Interior Department and Interior Department people moving over to NARF has the color of a "revolving door" policy by both parties and that people might be justly suspicious of that. He said, "people can take jobs wherever they want." He also indicated that the people who left NARF for the Interior Department did so with the hopes that they could exercise some influence from within government positions. He offered the "hired gun" theory of lawyers—that when they work for a client, they serve that client, and when they change clients, they change completely their positions. He did not discuss what hopes he thought Interior lawyers have when they come to work for NARF, whether they hope to "change NARF from within."

There are other elements of NARF's history which may be of interest to NARF's clients and potential clients. One of the NARF annual reports states that in 1973, NARF was responsible for "securing a funding base" and IRS tax status for an organization called the Native American Natural Resources Development Federation (NANDRF). They also take credit for setting up administrative offices in Denver for that organization. In other words, they practically created the organization. NANDRF was organized to implement "the orderly and systematic development of natural resources in tribal lands" to extract copper, coal, and

NARF CONTINUED ON PAGE 21

The Pending Energy Wars (Part II)

AMERICA'S FINAL ACT OF GENOCIDE

By Michael Garrity

This is the second of a two-part series on the energy issue as it affects Native Nations. The first part (Winter 1979 issue) dealt with the projected plans by U.S. corporations for energy-resource exploitation in Indian country - a series of plans which threaten to be the final act of genocide against the North American Native Peoples.

The American-based energy transnationals are preparing for what may prove to be a final assault on the remaining land-base of America's indigenous people. The battlelines are drawn and the Northern Great Plains, Rocky Mountain States and the Four Corners Area are the battlegrounds. It is in these sparsely-populated areas that the energy wars of the 1980's are going to be fought. They will be fought for the same reasons that the Indian Wars of the last century were fought - water, land and minerals. All of these were guaranteed to the Indian Nations FOREVER by treaties signed by official representatives of the Congress of the United States. The Constitution of the United States guarantees the validity of these treaties. It is up to the current government to respect those guarantees.

As in the previous century, the entire economic and military might of the US will be at the disposal of the corporate land-grabbers. And as before, they will meet resistance every step of the way, as they try to steal what is left of Native Peoples' land. The only difference this time around will be that a significant number of white men and women will offer their help to the Indian People in the coming struggle. Big Mountain on the Navaho lands may prove to be the first such military encounter of the energy wars.

One thing is for certain, those wars will come. The Indian People have been pushed to the most remote corners of this country and I doubt if they will allow themselves to be pushed much more.

Native People have never ceased their struggle to control their lives. The struggle for white people in this nation is just beginning. Our survival is being threatened by the men who control the transnationals. Soon we will have to decide which side we will be on.

URANIUM ON INDIAN LAND

Uranium is the essential ingredient of the nuclear fuel cycle. Without uranium ore there would be no nuclear weapons or nuclear reactors. Therefore, the easiest way to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants is to keep the uranium in the ground where it belongs. Unfortunately that is becoming harder and harder to do given the current mad-rush by the multi-nationals to locate and mine every bit of uranium ore they can get their hands on.

Surface exploratory drilling for uranium in 1978 amounted to 48.1 million feet, according to the DOE. This is the highest footage reported to date and compares with the previous high of 45.6 million feet drilled in 1977. The DOE notes that uranium exploration expenditures last year amounted to \$314 million, which included nearly \$31 million for land acquisition, \$170 million for surface drilling and \$114 million for related exploration. The total expenditures for 1978 were 22% higher than the previous record of \$258 million reported in 1977. Land acquisitions for uranium exploration last year were 6.4 million acres and land holdings of reporting companies (174) at the end of the year equalled 19 million acres. Expenditures for uranium exploration in 1979 are planned at \$339 million and the figure for 1980 is put at \$314 million.

These figures do not reflect just how much of that uranium leasing and exploration were on Indian lands. As with coal, enormous reserves of uranium are on



Indian lands. North American Indian tribes own reserves of uranium so vast that if taken as a whole, they would be the fifth largest uranium owning nation in the world. If ranked by production, Indian tribes would rank fourth in the world. Since 1948, 53,835 tons of uranium has been produced from Indian lands. That's 10% of the world's total.

As of 1978, 1,185,000 acres of Indian land were under lease for uranium exploration and development. Breakdown of Indian land leases (according to the DOE) is as follows: Colorado - 162,000 acres; New Mexico - 786,000 acres; Washington - 57,000 acres and Wyoming - 180,000 acres.

Most of the uranium in the US is located in the Wyoming Basin and the Colorado Plateau. The Colorado Plateau contains New Mexico's Grant Mineral Belt - the largest uranium producing area in the world. Since 1959, when mining began in the Grants region, production of uranium ore has totalled more than 55 million tons. In 1977, US production of Uranium - 308 (yellowcake) has totalled 14,900 tons - of which, 6,800 came from the Grants Mineral Belt. Half that is from Kerr-McGee's two mines at Church Rock and Ambrosia Lake.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) estimates that New Mexico has 30% of the probable uranium reserves in the country followed by Wyoming (15%); Colorado (11%); Utah (14%); and Texas (10%). South Dakota, Washington, California, Arizona and Nevada have another 11% scattered among them.

In the Wyoming Basin, Exxon has 50,000 acres of leases on the Wind River Reservation. They have found evidence of commercially exploitable uranium reserves there. The rest of the Basin is home to mines and mills of Utah International, Conoco, Kerr-McGee, Ashland Oil, Gulf, Union Carbide, Rocky Mountain Energy, Pathfinder Mines, Urangesellschaft (West German), ARCO, Western Nuclear, Federal-American Partners, Cotter Corp., American Nuclear, Wold Nuclear, Minerals Exploration, Phillips, Exxon, Homestake Mining, Mobil, TVA, Freemont Oil and several other lesser known names in the industry.

The fastest growing area for uranium exploration and mining is the state of Washington. Specifically, around the Spokane Reservation. Newmont Mining's Midnite Mine on the Spokane Reservation milled 158,000 tons of ore and produced and sold 315,000 pounds of yellowcake. Since the plant opened in 1957, it has produced about 10 million pounds of yellowcake. Ore reserves at the end of 1978 were 980,000 tons. Also within the reservation's boundaries, North Star Uranium has acquired permits to explore on 1,866 acres and Century 21 Mining has 1,600 acres of permit land. Denison Mines is also exploring 3,200 acres for uranium.

Phelps Dodge subsidiary Western Nuclear is now constructing a mine and mill complex on the reservation.

This new "gold rush" for uranium of course has environmental consequences the corporations do not like to talk about. The Environmental Protection Agency has just released a study of the drinking water of fifteen western states. The findings are not encouraging. The study area was from the Dakotas to California and the findings were that radiation contamination of drinking water supplies is a major long term problem because of the low-level radiation released into the water by uranium mining and natural occurrences of the mineral. The EPA has recommended "prompt control measures" to reduce radiation levels. What those measures are and how they are going to enforce them against the multi-nationals they don't say.

In 1976, 25% of all US production of uranium (3,000 tons of U308) came from Indian lands. The EPA did not address what the level of contaminated water was on the Indian lands. Over half of the uranium production in 1976 came from the Grants Mineral Belt. More than half of that land is Indian land. That includes part of the Navaho Nation, Laguna Pueblo, Ramah Navaho, Canoncito Navaho, Jemez Pueblo, Zia Pueblo and Zuni Pueblo. Close to 750,000 acres of Navaho and Pueblo land has been leased for exploration. Exxon alone has 400,000 acres leased near Red Rock on Navaho land. Thirteen other energy companies have leases in the area. They are Continental Oil (CONOCO), Anaconda Copper

(ARCO), , Grace Oil, the Hearst's Homestake Mining, Humble Oil, Hydro Nuclear, Kerr-McGee, Mobil Oil, Pioneer Nuclear, Phillips Petroleum, Marathon Oil and Gulf Oil.

36 mines and 6 processing mills are now in operation in the region. 26 more mines are slated by 1985 along with at least 4 more mills. Together the energy companies have drilled 35,000 exploration holes in the desert lands. Grants proudly proclaims itself the uranium capital of the world.

Gulf Oil is currently sinking the deepest underground shaft in the world into the Navaho and Hopi's sacred Mt. Taylor. The results of that exploration and mining have been nothing short of catastrophic for the people of San Mateo, NM, a rural Chicano town. The local water supply has been contaminated by the mining project. Water is currently being trucked in by the National Guard to the community. Radon ventilation shafts from the 3,600 foot Mt. Taylor mine are located in town. One is only a few yards away from the local school. The school is scheduled to close in the near future because of the radon vents and the lack of water. At the levels the mine will be operating at, the temperature will approach 125 degrees and water from underground aquifers will have to be pumped out at a rate in excess of 6,000 gallons per minute.

Equally destructive is the Jackpile mine operated by Anaconda (ARCO) on the land of the Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico. In the early 1950s Anaconda opened the mine. It has become the largest open-pit mine in the US stretching a full five miles in length.

The Laguna Pueblo has a land base of 418,000 acres. Through the middle of the Pueblo's land runs the Rio Pagueate. It used to run through a beautiful agricultural valley next to the Pueblo village of Pagueate. Now it runs through the Anaconda Jackpile mine. The waters are turned green by the effluent discharged into it. It is this water that the people still must drink and give to their livestock. Needless to say the incidence of stomach cancer has increased among the villagers. At approximately noon each day the blasting at the mine begins. It happens every day two or three times. The entire Pueblo is jolted by the blasts. The result is that radioactive dust and nitrates from the dynamite spread over every inch of the Pueblo. Anaconda doesn't care; profits are high.

Although the mine has been in operation for 25 years, not one foot of the Pueblo's land has been 'reclaimed'. It is easy to understand why. Reclamation of radioactive soil is impossible. The mine has removed 80 million tons of uranium-308, devastating 2,800 acres of the Pueblo. Anaconda's "Bluewater" processing mill has left 75 acres (13 million tons) of tailings to the mercy of the desert wind and rain.

The total labor force of the Pueblo is only 970. Of that figure 447 work in the mines and a few more in the mill complex. Five of every seven working Laguna people work in the mine. This may account for the over 100 Indian babies born in recent years on Laguna Pueblo suffering from some form of birth defect. That statistic comes from a staff member on the Senate's Committee on Indian Affairs. Anaconda holds a total of 7,500 acres of leases on the Pueblo lands. In addition to the pit operation, two underground mines on the property together produce 1,300 tons per day of ore.

Other mines and mills in the area are operated by Kerr-McGee, Gulf Oil, Sohio, Bokum Resources, Continental Oil and United Nuclear-Homestake. The United Nuclear mine at Churchrock has recently been shut down by the worst spill of radioactive material in the history of uranium mining in this country.

The Washington Star of August 31, 1979 reported that over 100 million gallons of highly radioactive liquid waste and 1,100 tons of equally radioactive solid waste spilled into the dry river bed of the Rio Ouerco River (a tributary of the Little Colorado which flows to the Colorado) when a tailings pond dam broke open on July 16, 1979. "Substantial amounts of uranium, thorium and radium" were released into the dry river bed, eventually

coursing 80 miles into Arizona before being absorbed by the soil. Hundreds of Navaho families live and graze their

livestock near the river. There were indications that United Nuclear officials knew of cracks in the dam months before the 6,000 foot dam suffered a 20 foot breach that is now endangering the lives of so many Navaho people. The local papers reported that the normally dry river was overflowing its banks on the day the spill occurred. The mine was generating 3,800 tons waste tailings a day before the spill. Unfortunately the spill will have little effect on the mining and milling activities in the area. The governor of New Mexico decided not to declare the site a disaster area or even admit that an emergency situation existed for fear of hurting the uranium mining industry in his state. The area may see 75 new mines and 20 new mills by the end of the next decade.

The same day the dam burst preliminary hearings were scheduled to begin in Washington D.C. on a suit filed in December 1978 by 99 Navaho traditionalists, and Acoma Indian and Friends of the Earth to stop all uranium mining on Indian land until the Federal Government prepares an environmental impact statement for the area of the San Juan Uranium Basin. The defendants in the suit are the Department of Energy, Interior and Agriculture; the Nuclear Regulatory Commission; the Environmental Protection Agency and the Tennessee Valley Authority. The suit claims that the defendants have evolved a national uranium exploration and development policy that has never been subject to public review and is therefore in violation of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). NEPA requires a EIS for all federal actions that significantly affect the environment.

The Navaho and co-plaintiffs contend that to comply with NEPA the government has to prepare national, regional and site-specific impact statements for all federal actions relating to uranium mining activities. The federal government's involvement in uranium mining in New Mexico is pervasive since about half of all

leases are on Indian land and the rest are on public lands managed by the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management (BLM). The regional statement would have to pertain to the San Juan Basin of northwestern New Mexico (containing the Grants Mineral Belt) and the Southern Powder River Uranium Basin of Wyoming. The suit also demands the federal government study appropriate alternatives to uranium production. Since 1970 in the San Juan Region alone, the BIA has approved 303 uranium leases, USGS has approved 9 mines and reclamation projects, and BLM and BIA have approved several hundred right-of-way, all without EIS.

A spokesman for Friends of the Earth says, "90% of total production (of uranium) has yet to occur. With about 40% of the \$50 per pound ore likely located on Native American land, there is a very serious need for comprehensive assessment for the Navaho here and all people everywhere of the real consequences of uranium mining and milling.

KERR-McGEE AND THE NAVAHO

In order to understand the Navaho position on uranium exploration, mining or milling on their land, we must look to the fate that has befallen over a hundred Navaho miners who worked in the Kerr-McGee mine at Red Rock back in the 1950s.

Red Rock was home to traditional Navahos who were totally unaccustomed to dealing with or thinking like the representatives of the energy giants who wanted their land. The energy-exploiting corporations took full advantage of this situation. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and the energy corporations began looking for uranium anywhere they could find it. Red Rock was one of the first places they looked. In 1945, the Trinity Test Site in New Mexico confirmed the viability of the atomic bomb. In 1948 the AEC authorized purchase of uranium to stockpile for nuclear weapons. They provided cash incentives for corporations to find as much uranium as they could. On the

reservations there were no taxes, regulations or laws regarding mining activities, and plenty of very cheap labor that knew nothing of the dangers of radioactivity. In the 60s the AEC stopped its price supports and incentives program for the corporations. At once the price of uranium dropped to around \$6 a pound. With no more government assured profits to reap the corporations closed their mines, left millions of tons of radioactive tailings to the mercy of the prevailing winds, threw hundreds of miners out of work and left for higher profits in other countries. They also left the clean up to the Navaho Nation. This will cost the Navahos over \$21 million according to the Government Accounting Office (GAO). The Navahos made royalties totalling less than \$1 million from the mining involved.

About 100 Navahos were hired by Kerr-McGee to work the mine in 1954, given minimal training and sent into dig uranium ore. A few more were employed at a processing mill in Shiprock. "The company came around and said there were jobs opening up, but they didn't tell us a thing about dangers of uranium mining," recalls former miner Terry Light, "The labor came cheap back then. (Miners were paid \$1.60 an hour). The white men really took advantage of the Navahos who needed jobs."

John H. Lee was one of the other miners who worked for Kerr-McGee. "It made us sick to go into those mines," Lee remembers. "The white men sat outside the mines and pushed us Navahos into those industry mines right after dynamiting. I now feel sick all during the day so I just sit back in the chair and rest."

"They chased us in there like we were slaves," recalls another miner. "I remember that it used to be so dusty that we were always spitting up black stuff and how when we went home we all had headaches from breathing all that contamination."

"Those mines had 100 times the level of radioactivity allowed today," says LaVerne Husen, director of the Public Health Service in Shiprock. "They weren't really mines, just holes dug outside into the cliffs. Inside the mines were like radiation chambers, giving off unmeasured and unregulated amounts of radon. The problem was that back in the 1950s nobody was riding herd on the companies. It was a get-rich scheme that took advantage of Navaho miners who didn't know what radioactivity was or anything about its hazards."

In 1965, the Indian Health Service hospital at Shiprock reported that two Navaho uranium miners had died of lung cancer - carcinoma. By 1970, 8 had died. By 1974 18 had died. And in 1979, 25 have died and 45 more now have radiation-induced lung cancer.

Lung cancer is a disease that until Kerr-McGee came along was unknown among the Navahos. In a seven-year study completed in 1972, no cases of lung cancer were found in a review of 50,000 chest x-rays of Navahos. But rates of lung cancer have now soared because of exposure to radiation; for not only did the miners breathe the radon gas in the mines, they took it home in the dust that clung to their clothing. The air took the gas to the nearby Navaho homes and of course Kerr-McGee encouraged everyone in the vicinity to use the tailings from the mine to build their homes and other buildings. In a paper entitled "Uranium Mining and Lung Cancer Among Navaho Indians", Dr. Gerald Buker states that the risk of lung cancer has increased by a factor of 85 among Navaho Miners. There are now over 10 million tons of those radioactive tailings scattered around the Navaho lands.

Oscar Sloan, a former miner living in an isolated community near Monument Valley, Arizona, says that "all the people here have used the uranium wastes to build our homes. The company never told us they were dangerous. Some white men came here a couple of years ago, and said we shouldn't live in our houses. They said the Government would get us new houses because our houses were radioactive, but they never did. I don't want to live in this house anymore, but I have no place else to go."

Former miner Tony Yazzie and his family live in a house in Monument Valley built from tailings less than 75 yards from his house. "I heard the tailings are dangerous," says Yazzie. "It blows all over my land. We try to keep the dust and sand out of the house."

Kerr-McGee denies responsibility for any of the deaths and refuses to pay medical expenses. Kerr-McGee representative Bill Phillips told a Washington reporter, "I couldn't tell you what happened at some small mines on an Indian Reservation, we have uranium interests all over the world."

Amanda Spake of Mother Jones asked government officials about the situation. They all denied any responsibility for the deaths, except one who denied that the mines ever existed. Although the ore was mined for the AEC, the NRC denies any responsibility because the old AEC regulated the uranium only after it was taken out of the ground.

The Navaho miners are victims of the front end of the nuclear fuel cycle. But they are also victims of the BIA's criminal negligence. The BIA has leased the Navaho lands for uranium mining without regard for adverse environmental effects, royalty rates, or social and economic impact. Uranium mines and mills are pushing the Navaho off their lands. Thousands of strangers (whites) are invading their towns and threatening their culture's very existence. The radioactive air and water pollution are threatening their livestock as well as the health of the entire community. The corporations don't give a damn and neither do the government agencies involved.

But still the Indian people are sent into the mines of the energy giants. In 1975, 3,400 underground miners and 900 strip-miners were employed by the uranium industry. Hundreds are employed on the Navaho lands. On the Spokane lands one out of four in the work force has worked or is working in the mines. And now the government is even paying the multi-nationals to teach Indian People to be miners.

The Labor Department is now paying Kerr-McGee to train Navaho miners. In an article in the November 1, 1977 Business Week entitled "Manpower Gap in the Uranium Mines" it is stated:

By 1990, the (uranium) industry will need 18,400 underground miners and 4,000 above-ground....Once on the job, Kerr-McGee estimated that it costs approximately \$80,000 per miner in training, salary and benefits, as well as the costs for trainees who quit. To try and trim these costs and create an ample labor force, Kerr-McGee is now operating a training program at its Church Rock mine on the Navaho Reservation. The \$42 million program is financed by the Labor Department and is expected to turn out 100 Navaho miners annually. Labor Department sponsors hope the program will help alleviate the tribe's chronic unemployment which is estimated at about 40%.

In a 1973 study of 3,400 uranium miners (780 were Indians) over a twenty year period, it was found that the group could expect 600 to 1,100 lung cancer deaths above what would normally be expected for other occupations. Other reports indicate irradiation through uranium mining has resulted in the premature death of one out of every six uranium miners from lung cancer or radiation related illnesses.

The primary goal of the energy-exploiting corporations is profit maximization. That goal alone determines all actions the corporation takes. Through government subsidies, the energy giants are assured a riskless market and a substantial profit. The costs of uranium exploration and development are all paid for by the taxpaying public while the profits are monopolized.



Skagit Nukes Resisted

Leonard Boome, an Upper Skagit Indian fisherman, pulls the net by hand into his 14-foot riverboat; one chum salmon flops on the deck. Bacus Hill basks, not far away in the early dawn, its gold and red clad maples scattered among deep green hemlock and cedars.

Had all gone as planned, two nuclear plants would be churning on Bacus Hill and Leonard Boome might be fishing under their cooling towers' artificial clouds — or not fishing at all. Instead the only sound today is the Skagit River, and not a single cloud darkens this November morning.

Boome and 1,500 Upper Skagit, Swinomish and Sauk-Suiattle Indian people in northwest Washington State are breathing easier, the clean Skagit air, hoping their efforts will keep nuclear power plants out of their valley for now and perhaps, forever.

The Skagit River tribes have battled Puget Sound Power and Light, a private utility based near Seattle, over licensing and construction of twin nuclear plants just one mile from traditional salmon fishing grounds where many Upper Skagit people fish. One-third of the tribe's members—entire families—catch salmon near the nuclear site from June through January each year.

Tribal people would be fishing under the constant threat of low-level radiation exposure in the cooling tower cloud, and the potential threat of a Three-Mile Island like accident.

Their livelihoods too would be endangered. Nuclear plant cooling water would be discharged directly into the Skagit River, which is second only to the Columbia River in Washington in producing five wild species of salmon plus steelhead trout. Plant construction would wipe out salmon spawning grounds and barging of nuclear plant components 26 miles up the Skagit would kill salmon and prevent fishermen's access to the river.

But maybe, just maybe, it's all a figment.

The tribes have kept the power company at bay for two years. Tribal intervention in federal licensing hearings have tied up the project since June 1978, and will continue well into 1980. If they fail there, the tribes already have begun an appeal in federal court, citing Nuclear Regulatory Commission failures to consider tribal and salmon impacts in its 1975 Environmental Impact Statement.

Locally, with help from the non-Indian Skagitonians Concerned About Nuclear Plants (SCANP), the tribes attacked zoning and local impacts, and spurred a Skagit County-wide nuclear ballot proposition. On November 6, 71.6 percent of Skagit voters said no to nukes in the Skagit Valley. The County commissioners listened, and voted November 19 to let the nuclear site zoning revert to forestry from industrial January 1, 1980.

"We've never had an effort like this before," said Lawrence Boome, Sr., Upper Skagit Chairman. "Two of our tribal staff became registrars and signed up tribal members. Then on election day we sent vans to bring people to the polls."

"We went to the county to tell them what the nuclear plants would do not only to us but to them too."

The Skagit tribes' efforts paid off. Shortly after the November election and county zoning reversal, Puget Power announced it would delay its permit application schedule another two or three years. When Puget Power announced in 1973 its plans to build the nuclear plants, the first of two units was to start operation in 1982. But not one shovel full of ground has been moved; deer and elk still roam the reactor site.

TWO YEARS OF STRUGGLES

The long road began for the tribes in late 1977. Although the nuclear plants were announced in 1973, the



Skagit Tribes were enmeshed in a landmark legal struggle to regain hunting and fishing rights lost since 1855 treaties were broken by Washington State. The favorable ruling—known as the Boldt Decision—emerged from the lower courts in 1974 and was upheld by the US Supreme Court just last July. As did the other 16 tribes involved with the Boldt Decision, the Upper Skagit, Sauk-Suiattle and Swinomish people pressed their full energies toward the case, and are still paying attorney bills accrued in 1974.

"Without the treaty case law, more than half of our arguments against the nuclear plants would have no teeth," Russ Busch, attorney for Upper Skagit and Sauk-Suiattle, said. "The first priority was winning the treaty case, then the tribes could concentrate on protecting their rivers."

The tribes' three main concerns about the nuclear plants were health and genetic impacts of low-level radiation, social and cultural damage of a boom and bust town effect during construction, and damage to treaty-guaranteed salmon stocks and fishing rights.

Even without dangers to the tribes, nuclear plants in the Skagit Valley are a dubious proposition. The site is surrounded by earthquake faults and is only fifteen miles from a still-smoking volcano. Wild salmon spawn in the Skagit and 200-300 bald eagles feed on salmon carcasses from autumn to spring.

"We were lulled into thinking the nuclear plants wouldn't hurt us, and would even make the river better," Lawrence Boome, Sr. said. "Puget Power said it would build a salmon hatchery and federal agencies told us the plant could bring jobs to our unemployed tribal members."

But the tribe's suspicions grew.

Using their own fisheries management agency, the Skagit System Cooperative, the three tribes hired a biologist to research possible damage to salmon. They asked experts in cultural anthropology and environmental sciences what experiences other tribes had had with major industrial development.

By June 1978, the tribes submitted their concerns to the federal Atomic Safety and Licensing Board, which was and still is considering licensing the Skagit nuclear project. They were three years late.

"The Nuclear Regulatory Commission staff said our concerns didn't justify reopening the licensing for the tribes," according to Busch. "The deadline for intervention was April 1975."

But the licensing board disagreed, and granted the intervention in November 1978. Atomic Safety and Licensing Board (ASLB) Chairman Samuel Jensch said, in the board order that the late tribal appeal should be weighed as if the US government were asking that the case be reopened. It was one of his last official acts. He was retired by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission shortly thereafter.

Puget Power appealed the order and won, sending the tribal intervention back to the licensing board. In April 1979 the new chairman reversed Jensch's order, and the tribes are in their last possible appeal to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

IRAN: An Objective View

It was already dark outside. Fifty of us — people from all over North America — were seated in a crowded 747 headed for London's Heathrow Airfield where we were scheduled to board an Iran Airline flight to Tehran. For about two hours, I had been reading a packet of materials on the Iranian situation. The fellow in the seat next to me, a heavy-set, well-dressed man probably in his late forties, pointed a heavy finger at one of the headlines.

"I couldn't help but notice that you've been reading about Iran. Are you Iranian?"

Although his English was excellent, there was a slight accent to his voice that I had not heard before. "No," I answered, "I'm part of a delegation going to Iran on the invitation of the students who are holding the American embassy."

"Ah," he said, "then you're going there to negotiate for the release of the hostages." Before I could enter much of an objection to that statement, he continued. "I know that situation," he said, "I know the Iranian people."

"Well, in that case," I asked in my most innocent voice, "what is your opinion of the situation in Iran?"

"I have been there many times," he began. "You have to understand the Iranian people to know the situation there. I understand what's going on there. I speak Persian."

"Are you Iranian?" I asked.

"No. I'm from Afghanistan. But I know the Iranian people. They need a strong leader." He took out a cigar and lit it.

"Now the Shah, he was a strong leader. He gave the people quite a lot of freedom, but he set limits. He said to them, 'look, you can do any thing you want in these areas. But in politics, no!' Do you understand?" He didn't wait for a response. "He did a lot of things he shouldn't have done, too. A harsh man. Iran needed a revolution. A lot of places need a revolution."

Pointing his cigar to the ceiling, he continued. "But not an Islamic Revolution. It would have been better if there had been a socialist revolution. But an Islamic Revolution? There will be no development in Iran under an Islamic Revolution." He shifted in his seat. "The Iranian people are a restless people. Unless they have a strong leader, they won't obey."

"What about Khomeini," I asked. "Isn't he a strong leader?"

The man turned to stare out the window into the black night over the Atlantic. "Khomeini" he repeated, his voice seeming to trail off. Then he turned to face me with renewed intensity. "Khomeini? Khomeini's not even Iranian! He is Persian, mind you, but he's not Iranian. His father came from India — the Persians in India. Did you know that?"

We sat in silence for a while. I couldn't pursue that line of thought, I couldn't even understand why it was so important that Iranians obey some kind of strong leader. I didn't know, in any specific terms, what an "Islamic Revolution" was, so I wasn't about to try to defend it fifteen minutes outside of London's Heathrow Airfield against an Afghanistani who had spent much of his life as a merchant in the Middle East and who spoke Persian and who had been to Tehran many times during the time of the Shah. It was precisely because he had those qualifications that I would think of that man and the conversation we had many times in the days to come. From the tone of his voice, I felt that he privately would not defend the Shah, that he didn't feel comfortable voicing his opinions to a stranger on an airplane, and that he wasn't able to articulate his objections to an Islamic Revolution and that his distrust of the idea of an Islamic Revolution was more instinctive than informed.

I didn't have any strong opinions about that subject either. In seven or eight hours, we would set foot on Iranian soil and these many questions which occupied this journey would begin to be answered. I leaned back in my seat and a voice came over the intercom announcing that we were descending into Heathrow Airfield. In a week, I thought, I'll be able to participate in this conversation.



Photo by Randy Goodman

It was dark when we landed in Tehran. We were taken to an airport waiting lounge and were told that no one was awaiting our arrival and so there were no government officials to give us visas. We waited for three and half or four hours. Finally, two stern uniformed officials came in and addressed our group. "You have violated the rules of this country," one of them began in a voice that you've heard schoolteachers use when they entered a noisy classroom. "You were supposed to get visas before coming into the country," he continued, "and you have failed to do this. Therefore, you may only stay for four days."

Later we learned that while we were enroute, some of the students occupying the U.S. embassy in Tehran had exposed documents which implied that a Mr. Minachi, an officer of the government, had had contact with U.S. personnel. The students had used those documents to cause the arrest of Mr. Minachi on charges that sound a lot like sedition, and the affair had caused the government considerable embarrassment. At the moment we were circling for a landing, people in the government were trying to figure out how to reduce the students' role in international affairs. Since we were invited by the students and not by the government, and since our arrival coincided with the government's need to assert its control over such matters, the speech we received at the airport was more intended for the students' ears than our own. At any rate, after the incident at the airport, all of our contacts with government people were friendly and open, and although we stayed some ten days, nobody mentioned the four-day visas again.

We were taken to the Ghodds Hotel (formerly the Royal Gardens Hotel) in downtown Tehran. The accommodations weren't much different than those you might expect to find in any Sheraton Inn in a midwestern city. The major difference was that there were few other guests at the hotel, and there was a notable absence of hotel night life. In fact, all of Iran displays a notable absence of night life as it is known in the West. This is probably because of the fact that alcoholic beverages are all but non-existent since the revolution, and such beverages, if they do exist, are certainly invisible.

The Ghodds Hotel is in every other way certainly tailored to the comfort of Western guests. Indeed, the hotel is equipped with Western-style toilets, and it was the only place in Tehran that we visited where "throne" toilets and toilet paper were the custom. In fact, the first culture shock that our group suffered was discovery that the airport facilities lacked both "throne" seats and

toilet paper, and that caused considerable discussion. The Iranian accommodations, where running water prevailed, consisted of a toilet bowl set into the floor and a jug of water or a tap for cleansing the hands. Although a lot of people would be distressed by those facilities, it is worth mentioning that "throne" seats seem to be a peculiarly Western invention and that some people hold to the theory that the Iranian custom is actually healthier for people. The fact that we were treated to Western accommodations underlined the fact that the Iranian students who were hosting the affair wanted the minds of their guests to be focused on the program they had planned and not on the discomforts of adaptation to the Iranian toilet.

The program really began the next morning. There were posters up all over the hotel, posters carrying quotes by Ayatollah Khomeini and anti-imperialist slogans. Glued to the walls and posters were dozens of color photographs of people — men and boys — who had been killed during the demonstrations against the Shah's regime. The photographs were our first real introduction to the reality of the Iranian revolution. Everything else that we might see and hear could be classified as a conflict in ideology or as allegations of government misconduct. But the photographs were different.

There were pictures of unarmed people who had been shot down or crushed by tanks of the army and the national police. The photographs were mostly taken at the cemetery where the bodies were laid out prior to burial. The violence had been brutal. The top of one man's head had been blown off. Another's brains were lying next to the head. Another's face had been obliterated by machine gun fire. A man had been burnt to a crisp, a baby had been killed, probably by shrapnel. A boy of seven or eight had been hit by machine-gun fire. It was gruesome.

The students herded us into the dining room which was to serve as a lecture hall for the duration of our stay. Their presentation began with a single message: "The photographs on the wall are the pictures of martyrs of the Revolution. . ."

Martyrs. The first time you hear the word, your mind substitutes the word "victims." The student's message continued in a flinty, moralistic tone: The Shah is a criminal. He impoverished the Iranian people while amassing to himself unheard of wealth. The U.S. government was a partner in the crimes of the Shah because the CIA brought him to power and CIA advisors urged him to commit acts of barbarism against the Iranian people. And the people in the photographs were martyrs. They had gone into the streets and had willingly given their lives to rid Iran of the murderous and bloody Pahlavi regime, given their lives in a Jihad, a

holy campaign in the name of Allah.

Some of the students' spokespersons and interpreters commanded more than adequate English. From the very beginning, though, their presentations were pretentious, wooden, rehearsed, monotonous, and generally uninformative. Their message was clear, but it was almost word for word the statements they had issued shortly after the embassy had been seized. Like youthful political advocates everywhere, they have not yet mastered the arts of subtlety, understatement, or irony. One could quickly conclude that militant Iranian students should take some courses in communication arts.

Following the opening lecture, we were taken by bus to Behist-Zahara, the cemetery outside of Tehran. This was the first place where Ayatollah Khomeini gathered the people after he returned to Iran from exile. We were taken into a building where we were shown a movie taken during the last days of the revolution. Some of the people who were already at the cemetery — not students, but older people — came in the building, stood and watched.

Movies of the Iranian Revolution, like all films of real wartime action, are not particularly enlightening. Cameramen risked their lives to get footage of fires in the streets, of soldiers moving towards civilians, and of people carrying the wounded and the dead way from the scenes. There were scenes of massive demonstrations in the streets, when hundred of thousands of unarmed people carrying signs and shouting slogans filled the streets as far as the camera could see and in which there were no spectators, only marchers.

One of the students narrated the film in English. He told of "Black Friday", September 6, 1978 on the Western calendar, the day the Shah's military opened fire with machine guns and small arms on a crowd of an estimated twenty thousand in a crowded square in Tehran at 7:30 in the morning. The film showed the victims of Black Friday — rows and rows of corpses laid out in the cemetery, packed in ice, wrapped in white, awaiting burial. The student interpreter told us that 6,000 died that day. In the back of the room, grown men stood and cried quietly while the movie ran. On the screen, women screamed hysterically while bodies were brought to the gravesites, and young men had to be dragged weeping from the graves onto which they had thrown their own bodies. The militant students might seem almost mechanical, and their written statements may have the ring of archaic and overworn propaganda, but the Iranian people are real enough.

Wherever the people gather, someone seemed capable of giving a speech of some kind. We went to the tomb of the Ayatollah Taleghani, a leader of the revolution who was assassinated during the summer of 1979. Someone gave a speech in Persian. Then, at the appropriate point, a signal was given and everyone shouted in unison "Allah o Akbar! Allah o Akbar! Allah o Akbar!" God is great! It is one of the key slogans of the Revolution and a slogan which helped bring down the Pahlavi regime.

We walked over to a section of the cemetery which we were told contained only the victims of Black Friday. One of the interpreters said that not all of the bodies from that day had been recovered, and that the soldiers took them and buried them in mass graves. And, he said, not all of the people who were killed on Black Friday were buried in this place, that some were buried in another section of the cemetery nearby because of lack of space. I estimated the number of graves in that section at a little over three thousand, if those numbers mean anything.

The Iranian people have a custom of laying the "headstone" flat on the grave. Often there is a little monument which contains the person's photograph above the grave. We spent over an hour in that section of the cemetery. There were portraits of people from all walks of life. Young boys, perhaps seven or eight years old next to men in their sixties or seventies. Photographs of clean-shaven men in business suits, pictures of high-school-age boys in poses which could have been used in the school yearbook. For some reasons, American people suppose that Iranians somehow look



Photo by Randy Goodman

different from themselves. I wished that people in the United States could spend a few minutes in the Cemetery at Behist-Zahara. Those photographs could have come from any town in the Midwest.

Mary, a student interpreter who became famous on American television during the early days of the embassy occupation, stopped to talk as we neared the center of the cemetery. "during the revolution," she said, "many of us younger ones went into the streets hoping to be martyred. It is a great honor to be killed in a struggle against injustice and in the service of God. We'd go out into the streets and if we weren't killed, when we got home we'd say, 'gee well maybe tomorrow.' Some of our men actually bared their chests and ran up to the soldiers and the machine guns and asked to be martyred. The bodies of martyrs don't have to be washed before burial. By their act of martyrdom, they have already been purified."

I pointed out that all of the photographs were of young men and asked about women, whether they had been martyred also.

"Women were very active during the demonstrations," she said. "In our country, we are tired of the exploitation of women — the exploitation of their figures, and their faces. That's why we do not have pictures of women's faces in the cemetery. Many of these graves are of young women."

"On Black Friday, when the people massed in Martyrs' Square, women, and especially women carrying babies, formed lines surrounding the men. They thought that the soldiers might not open fire on women. But the Shah's men told the soldiers that we were carrying weapons under the chadors (the traditional black garment worn by women which has caused so many comments in the Western press — Ed.) when actually the women were carrying babies. When the soldiers opened fire, the women fell and, of course, their babies rolled out into the street. That was the time that you could see many of the soldiers become sick of the killing. I saw some of them, after the first shooting, pick up their rifles and turn away from the crowds. One soldier turned and killed his commander, then he shot himself. He is buried here, one of the martyrs."

I pointed to one of the gravestones and asked her to read it. It carried the name of a young girl, thirteen years of age, and listed her parents and her family. She had died on Black Friday. A few yards away, several women, dressed chadors, mourned over a grave. Here and there portraits of young men in suits and ties were next to photos of the same young men taken in the morgue, lying lifeless and bloodied, the wounds clearly showing. In many of the graves was a wooden stake with a red

cloth tied to it.

"What's the significance of this stake?" I asked. Mary looked straight into my eyes. "It means," she said, "that the killer of this man has not been brought to justice."

On the evening of the first day, two speakers gave lectures outlining the gains to the Islamic Revolution. Mrs. Sahra Rahnavard, who we were told was also a writer, spoke through an interpreter. Many of the fifty people from North America would be considered progressives in the United States and they raised a lot of questions concerning women's rights. I won't try to hide the fact that I found some of their questions a bit embarrassing. It wasn't that the questions expressed illegitimate concerns — the questions concerning women's rights were real and vital. But somehow, the questions seemed out of context, and sometimes they bordered on being disrespectful. At one point Mrs. Rahnavard expressed her opinion that unity in pressing forth the revolution was more important in her mind than pressing forward some of the immediate concerns that women were raising, and that answer wasn't particularly enthusiastically received. She also stated that the revolution was incomplete — that women would be pressing for more gains and more of a voice in revolutionary politics.

The point that needed to be made about any presentation by a woman revolutionary from a Third World country is that she is speaking from an entirely different context than American people are sensitive about. White middle-class American women could feel comfortable advocating women's rights which have been marginally successful in a society which is not only a non-revolutionary society, but which is extremely privileged in the world community. Mrs. Rahnavard, however, spoke from a consciousness of fourteen centuries of oppression of not only women but of the poor people of an entire culture, and she spoke of the need to revitalize Iran's culture. Her models for struggle were women in Islamic history whose struggles and whose biographies have yet to be translated into English, and because of that, some of what she had to say was entirely unintelligible to all but Persian ears, and Islamically-educated Persian ears at that.

Hojatoleslam Shabestary appeared before us in dress associated with traditional Islamic leaders. He didn't speak English, but he offered to speak in German, an offer we declined because no one felt fluent enough in German to translate. His explanation of Islamic Revolution and its ideology was both intelligent and enlightening. He is the editor of a newspaper in Tehran,

"WE WALKED UP THE STAIRS AND BACK INTO THE ALLEYWAY. A CROWD FOLLOWED US. I STOPPED AN INTERPRETER AND ASKED A QUESTION OF A WOMAN WHO STOOD WATCHING US. 'WHAT DO YOU WANT PEOPLE FROM THE UNITED STATES TO DO FOR YOU?'"

SHE ANSWERED: 'RETURN THE SHAH.'"

and a year after the revolution he was one of the most highly respected of Iran's ideologists in the eyes of the Moslem Students Following the Line of Imam, the group which had siezed the U.S. Embassy.

Iran is a desert country. January in Tehran is cold, sometimes it snows, often it rains. When it rains, everything that is not paved turns into thick, oppressive mud. Outside of a few trees which were planted for decorative purposes, there is practically no vegetation. The streets are lined by open sewers, the brick buildings are dull and weary-looking, and during daylight hours this city of three million seems somehow perpetually overcrowded. Those who have been to Tehran in winter would probably agree that the word that best describes its appearance is "bleak."

On our second morning in Iran, we journeyed to South Tehran. We rode a long time through traffic jams and past outdoor vendors plying wares from persian rugs to brassware. Finally, we turned down a street that passed a line of buildings and we were in the open. There was no vegetation as far as the eye could see, nothing but mud, power lines, and the city's skyline. Within a few minutes, we approached a shanty village. "This is where the poor of Tehran live," one of the students announced. "They are among the poorest people in any industrialized city in the world."

We were invited to inspect their conditions. There were perhaps twenty families occupying maybe three-fourths of an acre. They lived in hovels made from scraps which had been discarded. An average dwelling might be five feet high and eight or nine feet square with a dirt floor which, because of recent rains, was actually a mud floor. There was no water supply, or any other kind of supply either. The walls of some of the houses were made from steel barrels which had been split and hammered flat into a sheet. A board here, canvass there, a piece of tin, some plastic — of such were these shelters constructed. Next to these shelters were animal shelters made of the same stuff. It was often not possible to tell which was the animal shelter, and which was the human shelter. A few chickens walked about, and there were a number of goats nearby.

I asked one of the men (through an interpreter) how long he had been living there. He said eleven years. Why did he come here He said that he was originally a farmer in a village south of Tehran, but that he and his family had lost their land and they had no where else to go. He explained that during the Shah's regime, the soldiers would come occassionally and they would tell the people that they must leave. Then they brought the bulldozers and razed the little huts and they shot some people.

How were they able to live here, and how do they feed their livestock The man replied that the goats live off the scraps that they find in the garbage dump, especially the orange peels, and that the chickens find what they can in the refuse and in the dirt. I wan't certain until he mentioned it that we were standing on the edge of Tehran's garbage dump, but his words and the general air of the place confirmed it. The men work as manual laborers in the city whenever they can. He mentioned that in the winter, infant mortality is especially high in these camps. When asked about his hopes from the revolution, he mentioned that the government has promised new housing, and that he and his family are waiting.

An hour later, we were back in the city, still in South Tehran. Our guides, the students, took us down a street and through a door in a wall which opened into an alley. An open sewer ran through the center of the alley. We started downhill between two walls perhaps ten feet apart. Occassionally we could see through an open door

in the walls that there were little courtyards ten feet square and small apartments off the courtyards. We continued to descend.

Within a few minutes, we turned up another alley. By now we had attracted quite a crowd of onlookers, some of them chanting "Death to Carter, Death to the Shah." We walked quickly, in single file, following the course of an open sewer, down this alley, up that one. Finally, the students opened a door in the wall and we went inside. There was a staircase, perhaps three feet wide which descended in two stages to a courtyard perhaps thirty feet on a side.

I tried on a couple of occassions to ask one of the students to guess how old a building or a monument might have been, but I quickly found that it was no use. To the students, World War II was ancient history, and most history started since 1963 when Khomeini was exiled to Iraq. There was no point in asking them how old this part of the city is. What struck me was that I had never seen a photograph of this, and had never read an account of this section of the city. Of one thing I was certain, this had been here since the middle ages.

The buildings were built into the side of a hill, and layer upon layer of building had been amassed pueblo-style, except there were none of the things present which make Pueblo housing attractive. This was probably the most depressed housing that I have ever seen — at the end of a damp alley which was at the end of another damp alley, with practically no daylight, no water, no sewers, and from what we saw, no heat. There were, however, television antennas atop several buildings.

We went down into the courtyard. A woman who lived in one of the apartments told our interpreter that when the snows in the mountains thaw or when there is a lot of rain, water floods this place to a depth of four or more feet. She pointed to a water mark. She said that when this happens, many people who live here drown each year. A woman opened the door to her apartment so that we could see how she lived. The people here were all eager to show us their living conditions. This woman lived in what amounted to a cave in the wall. There were no windows. The room was dark and damp, and measured probably six feet by eight feet. Three people lived there. The other apartments were a bit bigger, and some had windows, which looked out into the courtyard. Twelve families, they told us, occupied that space.

We walked up the stairs and back into the alleyway. A crowd followed us. I stopped an-interpreter and asked him to interpret a question to a woman who stood watching us pass. "What do you want people from the United States to do for you?" She answered, "Return the Shah."

We went into another little courtyard at the end of a little alley. The woman there told us that she pays \$30 a month for her two-room apartment. She wanted to know why people such as herself had to live under such conditions. She said that the new government had put a public fountain in the alley nearby and that now they had a source of water. But in the Shah's time, they had to collect water as it ran off the steps. What did she want us to do "Return the Shah."

Children surrounded us as we went up the alley. They were in a good mood, bouncing up the alley and running ahead to announce our approach. I stopped an interpreter and had him ask an old man who was leaning out of a doorway. "Return the Shah," he said. Occassionally the children would send up a chant:

"Death to the Shah," it translated.

We walked quickly up the alley toward the street level. I wondered if any Western journalist had ever been down these alleyways, if any of the American tourists had ever ventured here. Along the walls of the alleys on both

sides doors continued to open up into courtyards of startling similarity. From several points, we could see that this kind of housing extended for a considerable distance, and that thousands and thousands of people lived here. South Tehran — a medieval city in the modern world. The people who lived there rose from these near-caves during the revolution and went into the streets. Many of them were martyred. To a man, they seemed to blame the Shah for their living conditions. The Western press has spread propaganda to the effect that Syatollah Khomeini and the religious leaders of the revolution were leading Iran back to the Dark Ages. But South Tehran stands as a monument, as living proof, that Iran was already living in the Dark Ages, brought there by the policies of the Shah and for the profits of the Shah. The Shah, and his friends.

Since our arrival in Tehran, most of us were pretty sensitive to the fact that, as the guests of the Moslem Students Following the Line of Imam, people were going to argue that we had been "brainwashed" to their line of thinking. We were, after all, seeing the Iran that the students wanted us to see. There were some things, however, that a group of students just couldn't orchestrate. They couldn't create, for example, the poverty of South Tehran, and although they could have done some work preparing the people for our arrival and visit, they just couldn't have gotten the entire population of a whole section of the city to say exactly the words they wanted them to say. Our group as a whole asked questions of quite a number of people who were watching the process from the sidelines. One response was universally consistent — the people of South Tehran want the Shah returned to Iran. He has become a national symbol of evil in that country, the living symbol of all of the misery suffered by the masses of people.

As we climbed aboard the bus, I felt satisfied that the demand for the return of the Shah does not originate solely from the Moslem Students or from Imam Khomeini. The demand for the return of the Shah is a kind of national passion in Iran. As our bus weaved its way through the streets of Tehran, my mind turned to the conversation with the man on the plane.

"They shouldn't return the Shah," he said, puffing on a cigar. "If they return the Shah, and then other tyrants in other countries see what happens to dictators who lose a revolution, then they'll have nothing restraining them from simply massacring the people."

On the plane, I had been able to entertain that line of thought. But here, in the streets of Tehran, it made no sense at all. From all I'd seen thus far, the Shah must have pulled out all the stops and ordered the army and the SAVAK to go into the streets and butcher as many people as was necessary to put down the demonstrations. The only reason that tens of thousands more weren't killed was that not even soldiers had the stomach to mow down their own people in cold blood day after day. If there was even a shred of evidence that the Shah didn't know about the bloodshed, that he didn't know about the murder of unarmed women and childre, that he never ordered the army to fire on unarmed crowds, then maybe argument could be made for the Shah's political exile. But if the Shah had committed criminal acts similar to those committed by the so-called "Nazi War Criminals," there's no earthly reason that he should not answer for his crimes. And the people of South Tehran seem to harbor no doubts about the Shah's part in the killings. Mass murderers shouldnot be able to hide behind warped interpretations of international law.

Friday is a holy day in the Islamic world, corresponding to the Christian world's Sunday. In

"THE LIST OF U.S. JOURNALISTS WHO REGULARLY RECEIVED GIFTS FROM THE SHAH READ LIKE AN ALL-STAR CAST OF NETWORK NEWS. MR. AND MRS. WALTER CRONKITE, DANIEL SCHORR, DAN RATHER, DAVID BRINKLEY, ERIC SEVEREID.....BARBARA WALTERS EVEN GOT A DIAMOND WATCH..

"THE SAME PEOPLE WHO FAILED TO REPORT IN SPECIFIC DETAIL THE CARNAGE OF THE REVOLUTION, WHO DID NOT REPORT ANYTHING BUT 'ALLEGATIONS' OF TORTURE UNDER THE SHAH—THESE SAME PEOPLE WERE ON THE PAYROLL, SO TO SPEAK, OF A DICTATOR IN THE MIDDLE EAST."

revolutionary Iran, people gather at Tehran University around noon on Fridays to hear Friday prayer. Two speeches are given. One speech is dedicated to the principles and ideology of Islam, and the other speech is focused on the political realities of the day and speaks to how well Islamic society is moving toward its ideals. Ayatollah Ali Khamenehi, a member of the Revolutionary Council and an Assistant Secretary of Defense, leads Friday prayer. He is a powerful speaker who, we were told, is also fluent in Arabic.

Tehran University is one of the places from which the Revolution spread. Our interpreters told us that about a million people from all over Tehran generally attend Friday prayer. It's hard to say how many people were there, but Tehran University's grounds were crowded as were the streets around the university.

The next day (Saturday, February 9) we went to an infirmary which housed some of the thousands of wounded and handicapped veterans of the revolution. The infirmary was located in North Tehran, home of many of the wealthy supporters of the Shah. The building housing the infirmary, we were told, was formerly the home of the director of Iran's state television programming. It was a large, lavish building, complete with crystal chandelier and two swimming pools. The men housed in the infirmary told horror stories of their experiences under the Shah's regime. A few had been wounded during Black Friday.

That night, we met with families and victims of Savak. They spoke matter-of-factly of the brutality meted out to people who had expressed opposition to the Shah's rule. One family in particular described the torture of a young doctor — how they had pulled out his fingernails, how he had been burned. Finally, one night he had been taken out and shot and his body dumped in a salt lake. The man's widow told the story, and his father. There were other speakers — witnesses to the brutality and the savagery of Savak. One had the impression at the end of the night that there was an endless pool of witnesses to the brutality of life in the Shah's Iran — perhaps tens of thousands of people who had actually survived the tortures and hundreds of thousands of others, family of those who had died under torture or by execution at the hands of the hated national security police (Savak.)

While some of the witnesses were telling their stories, one of the students came over with a photo album. "These were taken from Savak files," she said. Inside were photographs of people lying on tables, people who had presumably died under torture. There were probably forty or fifty photographs in that album. Most of them were pictures of people clothed and lying on what looked like a metal table. In many, the eyes were open, staring into eternity. Some of the pictures were of young women. There was one young woman, dressed in western style clothes. She was lying on her back, her clothes akimbo. Her hands had been mutilated — the fingernails pulled out. There were deep abrasions on her legs where the skin was exposed and dark, ugly marks. Her face was twisted in a horrible expression of agony which completely disfigured her. Her eyes were open, and it was obvious that she was fully conscious when she died. If she had been found in that condition in this country, the papers would have said she was the victim of a maniac. In Iran, she was a victim of the state.

Savak torture techniques are widely documented. Favorites included the "parrot's perch" where the victim's hands are bound tightly in front of them and to their feet and a rod is passed between the knees and elbows and the body is lifted off the ground and left hanging. It is excruciatingly painful. Electric prods were used on the most sensitive parts of the body, and sometimes the victim was tightly tied and made to sit astride a sharp angular piece of iron for hours. Sometimes broken pop bottles were used on women. Sometimes, a victim was tied to a metal bed and a fire was started under them until the room filled with the

smell of burning meat. We were told privately that the most heinous torturers had never been caught — that they were believed to have been businessmen whose identities were unknown even to the local Savak agents and that they travelled some distances from their homes to ply their trade. The photographs of Savak's torture victims were stunning reminders of the reality of that which people in the West have already been told — that the government of the Shah practiced the most outrageous barbarities against the people of Iran.

About a quarter of the photographs were of women. The others were of men and boys. All showed signs, even in black and white photographs, of mutilation. The Western press pictures Khomeini as a man who is leading Iran into medievalism, but the photographs from Savak provide even more evidence that Iran under the Shah was medievalism at its worst.

February 11 marks the anniversary of the Iranian Revolution. We went to Freedom Square as honored guests to view what was scheduled to be a military parade. It was raining that day in Tehran, and all over the city people were carrying umbrellas. The women in the crowds seemed to be universally dressed in chadors.

As our bus neared the square, the crowds became so dense that the bus was often stalled by the pedestrians. Finally, the bus became mired down in a sea of people, all in a festive mood, many chanting the now familiar "Death to the Shah," and "Death to Carter." Finally, someone got the army to come to our busses and to try to get us to the viewing platform which had been erected to house the several hundred foreign guests who were in Iran that week.

The army wasn't there to protect us, exactly. The crowds were so dense that it was impossible to move through them, so the army formed two lines and locked arms and pushed against the crowd so that our group had a path through the throngs. The trip from the bus to the platform was quite an experience. The soldiers would push and you would run a few steps until the crowd surged again and the path closed, pinning you in your tracks. Well-wishers all along the course reached

over the soldiers to shake hands and those who knew some English shouted greetings. In that way we made it the eighty or so yards from the bus to the platform.

Once on the platform, ten or fifteen feet above the crowds, the immensity of the gathering became apparent. A true ocean of people stretched out beneath us from the platform to the rises around the square and in every direction as far as the eye could see. Umbrellas, faces, people chanting, carrying signs and pictures of Imam Khomeini — the unsolved question that crossed my mind was that there was no space anywhere for the army to march. We were standing toward the rear of the platform, a portable affair made of iron and wood, when the crowd surged toward us. I could be wrong about this, but in my mind the surge of the crowd seemed to coincide with the first movement of the platform. Then, suddenly, the whole structure shifted violently to our right, then collapsed.

The crowd, which was packed tightly together and which extended for many yards from the platform to the busses and beyond, froze. Then they lunged toward us. For a few seconds, a picture flashed through my mind of that crowd mounding the platform and crushing the people who may have survived and were caught underneath. But this was not a Western crowd. They pulled the people who were on top of the platform to the ground, and began clearing away boards to reach those underneath. I saw four men pick up an injured soldier a few feet away and hoist him on their shoulders. They ran toward the area where ambulances were parked. Pathways opened in the crowd and all of the visitors and injured were quickly evacuated. It was the most disciplined huge crowd imaginable. Later we learned that sixty people were injured among the foreign visitors — none very seriously — but that one Revolutionary Guard was killed. The injured in our group, mostly sprains, were on the bus headed for the hospital within twenty minutes. As our bus pushed its way through the crowds and away from Freedom Square, it was clear that the crowd was even more immense than it had seemed from the platform. Given that it was raining and that anybody who started out late wasn't going to get within a half mile of the square, it is clear that the vast majority of the population of Tehran supports wholeheartedly the revolution, and the

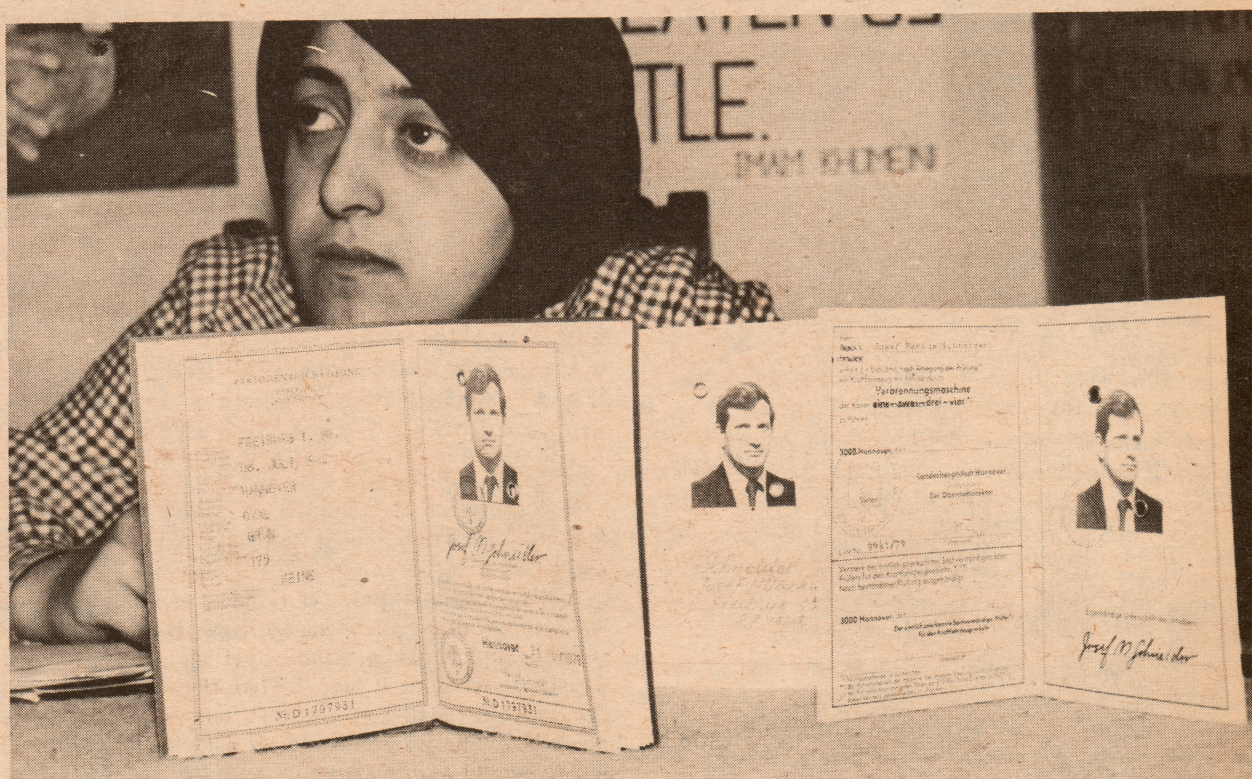


Photo by Randy Goodman

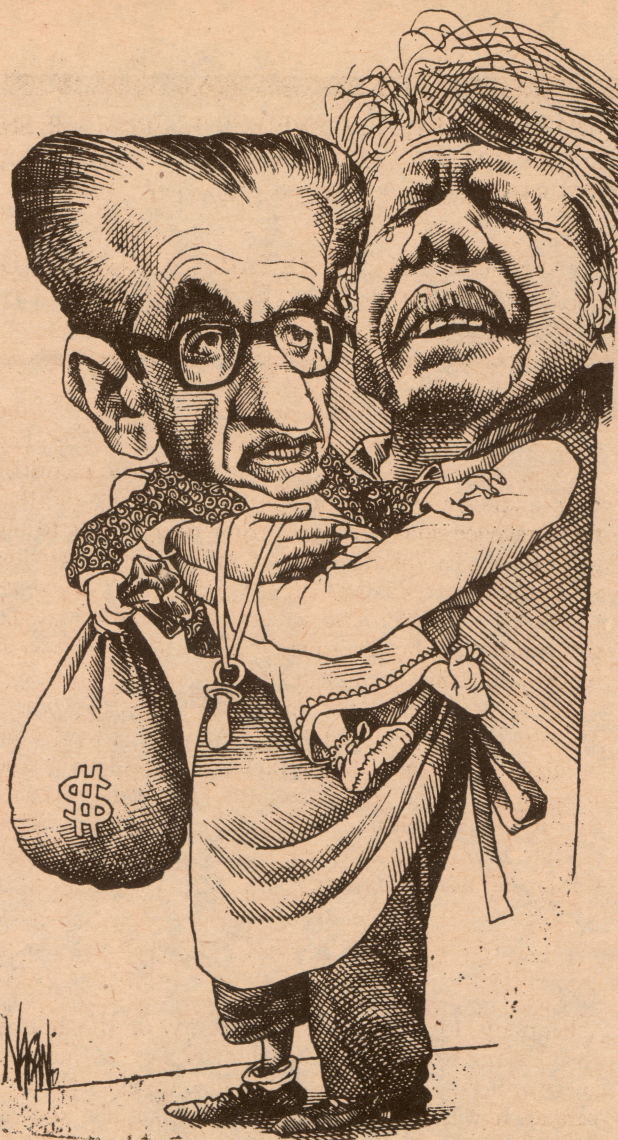
revolution in Tehran is Khomeini. Someone later told us that ninety percent of the population rose up and supported the revolution in the streets. I can't testify to that, but a couple of million people were in the streets on the first anniversary of the revolution and there can be no question in the minds of anyone who was on that platform that Iran is a modern phenomenon — a real people's revolution.

Abolhassan Samed heads the department of foreign media for the Ministry of National Guidance. He is probably in his late 30s, a man who spent a number of years in the United States. At one point, we was a Vista volunteer on an Indian reservation in the Southwest. He is also the man who was responsible for the ejection of the American press from Iran. He spoke to us on the evening of February 11.

The news media, he said, has a very important role to play. They must be the eyes and ears of the public, and as such they have a special obligation to tell the truth.

He then produced a folder which contained a telegram which was sent by the Iranian ambassador to the United States addressed to the Shah of Iran. In the telegram, the ambassador described a conversation he had had with one of the directors of a major television network. In that discussion, the ambassador was pleased to report, the network mogul had admitted that past coverage of the Shah's regime wasn't always completely favorable, and he promised that in the future the network would try harder to give reportage which put the Shah's regime in a better light.

Mr. Sadek then produced another folder. He explained that the Shah made it a policy to make certain that his government received the best possible press in the United States. He held up a piece of paper which listed the gifts the Shah had made to reporters in the United States during the period 1975 to 1977. The lists of recipients of gifts of champagne and caviar reads like the all-star cast of network news: Mr. & Mrs. Walter Cronkite, Daniel Schorr, Dan Rather, David Brinkley, Eric Severeid. Barbara Walters even got a diamond watch. Art Buchwald was on the list. In fact, every major television commentator and newspaper columnist in the United States, it seemed, was on the list. The same people who have been reporting the Iranian revolution to the American public were recipients of expensive gifts



from the Shah. The same people who failed to report in specific detail the carnage of the revolution, who did not report anything but "allegations" of torture under the Shah - these people who come into the living rooms of the public every night and report the happenings around the globe were on the payroll, so to speak, of a dictator in the Middle East. That was Mr. Sadek's commentary on the role of the media in America, and on the stories which have reached America about the character of the

Iranian Revolution. That, and the fact that the American press has continued to print misleading stories about Iran.

Evin Prison is located on the outskirts of Tehran, overlooking some of the expensive new hotel and apartment complexes which the Shah's regime was building to house the upper middle class. Until the revolution, it was a major holding center for political prisoners, complete with the requisite torture chambers. It is still a prison. One of the inmates is a Mr. Hassau Sana, former deputy to the head of Savak. He is awaiting trial for his former activities.

Through an interpreter, he explained that he had worked for Savak since he left college, that he had a degree in sociology from an Iranian university. He said that he joined Savak because, although he didn't agree with the workings of the regime, he wanted to "change the system from within." Since his arrest and incarceration, he had done a lot of talking about how things were done under the Shah.

We asked him to describe the torture process which had been practiced on political dissidents. He said that the initial torture was not intended to get information, but to strike terror into the individual. Someone might be arrested for reading a book or some similar offense. They would be brought to a room at the jail. Their shoes and socks were taken from them and a rope was tied to their feet and their feet were raised in the air. Then one of the jailers would take a length of elevator cable and beat them on the feet. He said that most people fainted after 50 or 60 blows, but that 200 blows were administered. Then the person was let down and thrown into a corner. When they came to, they were then often forced to walk on feet which sometimes had broken bones. After three or four days, he continued, the pain would begin to subside. That's when the torturers would go to the victim's cell, drag them back, and do it all over again. They'd then send them back to the cell for a few days, and then do it again. The idea, he said, was to scare people who would then tell other people about what happened to them. In that way, they thought, the population would be subdued.

He also mentioned that there was also some sophisticated torture equipment which was occasionally used. The "apollo helmet" was a device which fit over the victim's head and which looked like the helmets

THEORY OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

(It would be quite easy to describe the sense of the theories of the Iranian Revolution as it was presented by numerous speakers who tailored their interpretation of it to Western ears. The Revolution seeks to transform Iran into a self-sufficient nation with total economic and cultural independence from the West. The program by which this will be accomplished involves reestablishing the village life and agriculture which was destroyed under the Shah, and by developing worker-controlled industries which would be designed to facilitate the process of reinhabitation of the land. Although the focus of the Revolution is agrarian in intent, there was significant attention by those theorists we spoke to concerning realities of the need for a certain amount of industrialization.)

It would be unfair, however, to talk about the ideology of the Islamic Revolution without presenting the thoughts of leaders of that line of thought. One of the leaders of that ideology, Ayatollah Sa'eed, of the Jami Mosque in Tehran, granted us an interview in which he presented the religious ideology of the Revolution. This could be among the first presentations of a successful revolutionary ideology based on religion to be presented in the West. Therefore, we offer no analysis, but only the substance of Ayatollah Sa'eed's statement. We are not advocating his position. We are simply presenting his words because we have never seen the revolutionary ideology of a religious leader of Islam anywhere in the English language press. - Ed.)

Islam has no national boundaries.

Nationality or race are not important in Islam. What are important are the deeds of men — the good deeds and the bad deeds.

Anywhere that there is injustice (where bad deeds are done) there will be poverty and destruction. Where justice rules, the destiny of that society will be success. There is no individual or society which is outside this law.

In the interest of establishing justice within the society and within the individual, Islam has developed a law for all people regardless of class — that is the basis upon which justice is established. Any society which acts upon this law will find success in this world and the next. There is no favoritism under this law.

In order for this complete justice to take place and for God's will to be enacted, Islam has done two things. First, Islam brought about law and everyone before this law is equal. No one has more right before this law than anyone else. Not even the Prophet of Islam (Mohammed) had more right before this law than anyone else. The Prophet and a weak, obscure person were one and the same before the Law.

There is a story from Islam which shows that favoritism has no place in Islam.

The day the Prophet was going to pass away, he came to the mosque to bid farewell to his people. After appointing, Ali, his son-in-law, as his successor, (Ali's title is leader of the faithful), he said: "If anyone has anything due from me, let him come forward and state his right."

A man rose and said, "O Prophet of God, while we were on a journey I was hit by the staff in your hand."

The Prophet said, "Samon, get my staff from my daughter and bring it here." When the messenger asked the Prophet's daughter for the staff, she was greatly perturbed. She wanted to know why her father, in ill health, would want his staff.

When the staff had been brought forth, the Prophet called his accuser forward and placed the staff in the man's hand. Then he said, "take this staff and get your rights from me."

The man replied explicitly, saying, "When your staff contacted my body, I had no clothes on, and you have clothes on. It is not just that the staff struck my bare flesh and now it would strike your clothed flesh."

The Prophet then took his clothes off and then said, "take your rights from me."

The crowd wept. The sick Prophet was weak. How can it be that in this situation he should be placed under this man's blow? The man, also weeping, instead of striking fell and kissed the Prophet's body. The man said, "I have heard from you that one who embraces your body and kisses it shall be saved from the fires of hell. I wanted to experience this virtue and be saved from the fires of hell."

This is one example of justice, and such examples are innumerable in the history of Islam. In order that men may be governed, Islam has put forth two important principles. The first is law. The second is the enactor of the law, Islamic government.

God knows these principles to be His right. The law has to come from God because He is the Creator of all that exists and all creatures from the small to the large. Only God knows the path that one must follow to the beneficial life. No other being but God can understand what is beneficial for all of Creation's beings.

I am very happy to speak to educated individuals because you are in a position to see that each day man progresses in areas that yesterday were unknown to mankind. Yet never can mankind reach the point that he can fathom the knowledge of Existence. There is always the Mystery. It is only possible for mankind to reach the

astronauts wear. It amplified the victim's screams under torture until he or she was driven half mad by the noise. That little gadget, he said, is manufactured in America.

Mr. Sana went on to state that Iranian secret police were given instruction in "interrogation" techniques, (a euphemism for torture) by experts from other countries, specifically Israel, England, and the United States. We asked him if he could remember the names of any of the Americans who went to Iran during the Shah's time and who taught techniques of torture. He said that one man's name, a man who came to Iran in 1975, was William Woods.

This was not the first time that I had heard someone give first hand accounts which indicated that at least as recently as 1975, the American government was sending people abroad to teach torture techniques of the most barbaric nature. A woman from Paraguay once told me that she was blindfolded while she was being tortured but that she heard a man with an American accent giving instructions on how to make the torture more painful. The fact that the Apollo helmet is manufactured in the U.S. means that somewhere in North America there is a company manufacturing that instrument — which has only one use — and that someplace there is an American businessman whose job it is to market that instrument. Someone that you might pass on a street somewhere may have been the man who went to Iran, or Argentina or the Philippines and gave instruction on how to use electric shocks to torment the body of some poor soul who had been caught reading the wrong pamphlet or book.

And I was reminded, too, of a letter addressed to *Akwesasne Notes* about a year ago from a first grader, a girl, who lives in downstate New York. "Why do you Indians torture people" she had asked innocently. Even now, school children have an image of Indians as torturers. Other torturers might include the Nazi regime of Germany thirty-five years ago, the images are most often of darker skinned people as torturers. The implications of the Iranian experience, however, involve the spectre of agents of the American government as the bearers, indeed the experts, of torture techniques, not a century ago, not a decade ago, but right now, today. I wondered how the little girl from downstate New York would feel if she was told about that. Little wonder that the people of Iran, who know about those things, are so paranoid about the CIA.

truth of Creation by following the discipline (the school) of the prophets. From all aspects, what mankind possesses today of the knowledge of Existence he has gotten through prophets who have gotten it from God.

We have now established that the law (of a just society) must be God's law. We now go to the second point — that the enactment of the law must be through the hands of a divinely appointed leader.

We know that no matter how good or beneficial the law might be, not all men will surrender to it. Therefore, there must be a discipline (a school) which can explain this law to mankind in two aspects — the law in action and the law in knowledge.

For example, there will be those who will feel that the law of Islam is not sufficient to govern a society's economic life. In Islam, economics can give growth to society and also secure the rights of the individual. Men who understand not only Islamic law but also other law will be required to explain the truth of Islamic law to their people in their own language.

There are those who are not men of reason or logic. Using brute force, they will attempt to carry out their own thinking. Society must contain those who can destroy this force and bring about enactment of Islamic law. For this reason, Islam has placed the divine law in the hands of sinless leaders appointed by God — holy men. Holy men are leaders who have no desire except that which is God's wish.

Under Islamic government, all people are submitted to God and nothing else. No man in any position has the right to promote thinking which is contrary to that of God.

Perhaps, for you, two questions may arise. First, why had God given to Himself all rights and governing of Man must be done this way? It may surprise you to know that divine rule is necessary for mankind to be successful. Second, does mankind have any role to play in Islamic rule?

We gathered in the meeting hall of the Ghodds Hotel. The students had called the meeting because, they said, they wanted to show us some very important documents never before released to the public, documents which had been found at the embassy. They opened the meeting with a long explanation about the CIA's activities and their communications codes, and then they proceeded to hand out copies of CIA communications between the New York office and the Tehran embassy.

The documents indicated that the United States agents had been given West German identification, including a West German passport and drivers' license, and an international driver's license. The agent had been sent to Tehran to discuss some matter or other concerning internal problems of the revolutionary government. The informant was, presumably, some middle-level functionary in the government, although the contact was only identified by code name and whatever information he conveyed was not contained in the documents. The CIA report indicated that the agent had gone to Tehran and had made the contact and had left.

The students produced the passport with the man's picture on it. The CIA message had said that the passport was to be stamped with entries from a number of countries, and there was an implication that the mission was also coordinated in Frankfurt, Germany, at the headquarters there. The documents discussed activities which took place up to within a few days of the takeover of the embassy. The students thought that the documents were significant because they indicated that the CIA had a substantial role in running the Tehran embassy.

The students insisted that the documents which would have been really damaging to the CIA had been shredded before they were able to reach them. Most people already know that the CIA operates out of US embassies all over the world, and that they employ James Bond-type techniques in their work. The significance of the documents is that those documents justify to the Iranian public the position that the students have taken. They can be interpreted as proof that the U.S. government is still carrying on spy-type activities in Iran similar to those covert operations which produced the coup which returned the Shah to power in 1953. The fact that the students have been able to convince a large segment of the Iranian population of this possibility has enabled the students to hold off whatever moderate impulses the Iranian government may have and to deepen the revolution around principles of resistance to the

Concerning the first question, the law by itself cannot secure the success of mankind. Now matter how complete the law may be, human whim may cause alterations and change in the law. If the most perfect law falls in the hands of oppressive, passion-loving people — greedy people — it cannot be enacted completely.

The best example of this is in this country of Iran. The oppressor who ruled over this country said in his words that he adhered to the Koran (the Book of Islam) and called himself God's representative on earth. As you travel through Iran, you may see the effects of this man's oppression and his heedlessness to God's rule. History teaches that when the government falls into the hands of men who are distant from God, wreckage and destruction have eventually been brought to the people.

The second question involves the role of the people in Islamic government. No individual should see himself as separated from the government. He is part of the ruling order. The great leader Ali — the First Imam — said, "you are all as shepherds with responsibility for what is in your hands." Therefore a Moslem is responsible for himself and for others. Whether a good or bad situation may arise, the individual has a share in its reward or its punishment. It is the duty of the divine leader (the holy man) to always keep the people informed. The holy man reaches conclusions based upon the people's votes (the will of the people.)

Our Eighth Imam, Imam Reza, said, "the day that I gain the power of government, I will pick the best men for office. Therefore, he who is worthy of a post, I will give him that."

This movement has arisen from Shi'ism. It's secret is Shi'ism, and the world has not yet opened its eyes to this secret (truly). Shi'ites are the people who know the law and the rules as being from God, and who say we must make all our efforts according to the command of God. In this way, we will fill the world with justice and truth.

common enemy. That common enemy, of course, is U.S. imperialism.

Even when viewed from the perspective of furthering U.S. imperialism, President Carter has been amazingly inept in his handling of the Iranian situation. He announced a human rights campaign which gave the Iranian people a sense of hope, then he closed his eyes to the demonic acts of the Pahlavi regime, leaving Iranian people a feeling of having been betrayed. One of the students told us something very interesting as he was outlining the misdeeds of the CIA. He said that after the Shah fled to Morocco, everyone in Iran knew that the Baktiar government wouldn't last twenty days. Still, Carter backed Baktiar to the hilt, and that government was responsible for thousands of additional deaths during demonstrations — deaths which many in Iran attribute directly to Carter's actions. Unnecessary deaths.

And then, after the revolution was complete, Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller urged President Carter to allow the Shah to come to New York, ostensibly for medical treatment. Intelligence sources knew that the Shah's entry into the U.S. would spark fierce anti-U.S. demonstrations in Iran, possibly even an embassy takeover. But the stakes were very high. Who profited most from the Shah's entry into the U.S. and the subsequent anti-Iranian hysteria? Why none other than David Rockefeller and the other oil magnates who pushed the price of petroleum products to record levels in the weeks that followed. The current shift to the right and rearmament in the United States also means that the same interests stand to gain as arms manufacturers as well as in their capacity as oil merchants. American imperialism as a whole may have lost a step or two, but the Trilateral Commission's profits have never been greater.

The losers in this story have been the duped American people. As we enter a presidential election year, they are being herded into a military posture which their tax dollars must pay for in the shadow of a "crisis" which was manufactured by the American media and the same arms merchants who stand to profit from these events. Fuel prices seem certain to go much higher, increased arms purchases at the expense of social programs seem a certainty, and the profits of the oil companies and the arms manufacturers seem likely to skyrocket. There must be a moral here somewhere. There must be.

JOHN MOHAWK

Shi'ism says that injustice must be wiped out from the earth and all men must be able to gain their just rights, and that the oppressors and worldly passion worshippers must be annihilated. Shi'ism says that if we give rule to others than those appointed by holy men we have done injustice to the world. Shi'ism says that one who cannot rise above materialism and who falls victim to worldly things — he who is subject to threats of power — that man is not deserving and is not qualified for government. Shi'ism says that those who, in the name of Islam, have brought destruction and injustice to human beings, those people are not Moslems. Shi'ism says that it is the command of God that we do battle with injustice.

If we on this road are not successful Shi'ites (if a just government is not achieved) we will be killed or at least we have announced the rule as unlawful. This expression will have been made.

You can see an example in Anwar Sadat. Though he cannot, (under religion) compromise with Israel, he had done so and he has done so in the name of Islam. The Sunni religious leaders, because they lack the Shi'ite view, not only accepted this action on his part but they have given out information sheets in support of his action.

The point is not prejudice against Jewish people. The injustice of the Zionist movement is completely known by Egypt. There is no compromise with anything short of complete justice in Shi'ism. When Sadat makes compromises, according to Shi'ism, the religious leaders have no right right to support him. They must support the just cause.

Why do Sunni leaders support him? They interpret the Koran differently. There is a section of the Koran which says: "Obey God, Obey the Prophet, Obey those in Authority." The Sunni interpret this to mean anyone in

THEORY CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

The Energy Crisis: Prelude To War

As we enter the first year of the 1980s, the outlook for the future is uncertain, apprehensive and downright dangerous.

Inflation, recession, rising unemployment and energy problems will continue in the immediate future. Further on in the decade, we may experience depression, violent social upheaval and even world war.

The economic distress of the last few years has driven many Americans (especially whites) to seek scapegoats to blame. The present administration is well aware of this and is carefully channeling this anger and frustration into a campaign of racism, xenophobia and jingoism (masked as patriotism) directed at the oil producing countries and the Soviet Union. The recently proclaimed 'Carter Doctrine' of threatening military action to protect the oil supplies of the Persian Gulf has heated up the cold war atmosphere already inflamed over the hostage incident in Iran. This heightened war frenzy may allow the U.S. and the multinational oil giants to proceed with their 'final solution' to the problem of OPEC: outright military invasion and control of the oil fields by U.S. and possibly NATO forces.

The danger of the world's people being dragged into a new (possibly nuclear) world war because of this power grab is all the more appalling since it is far from being necessary, even to maintain the present standard of living. If this renewed 'patriotism' were channeled into a campaign to develop alternate renewable energy sources and efforts to cut waste and really conserve, there would be no need to send young people to fight and die to protect what is essentially the profit margins of the likes of Exxon, Mobil and Texaco.

How did this country become so dependent on foreign energy sources that it would risk so many lives in order to keep the oil 'lifeline' flowing. To begin to find some answers, we have to look back to the last world war.

To the Victor Goes the Spoils

The tremendous growth of the U.S. economy since World War II was basically dependent on two major factors: control over raw materials (primarily energy), and control over vast overseas markets.

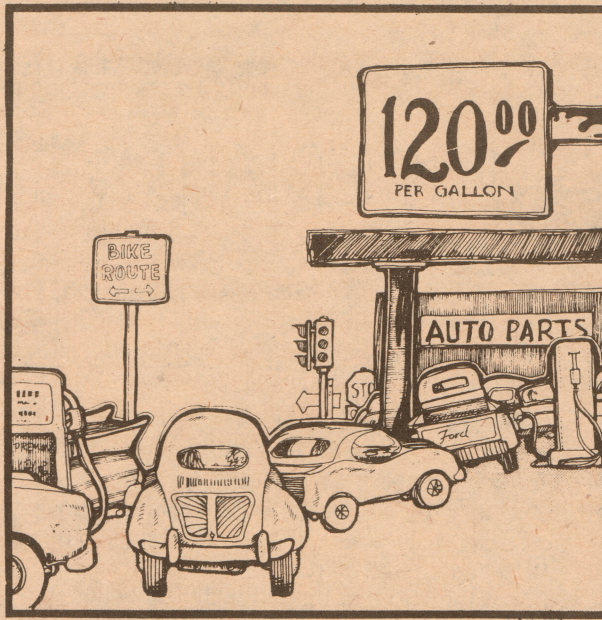
Control over both of these factors came about largely as a result of the U.S. emerging basically unscathed from the destruction that devastated the economic infrastructures of most of the other major combatants. This gave the U.S. a commanding lead in the scramble to recover markets and raw material sources disrupted by the war.

During and after the war, many European and Japanese colonies rose up and took their independence from the colonial powers. In the Middle East, weakened European influence allowed the big U.S. oil companies to expand their concessions at the expense of their allies.

The feudal Sultans and Kings who ruled the oil-producing countries around the Persian Gulf found it very difficult to resist the bribes, pressures and machinations of the oil giants, who were backed up by the U.S. State Department and the CIA. With little capital and scant technological resources, they ended up allowing the oil companies to take over the development of their oil resources.

By the 1950s, the 'Seven Sisters' [Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Socon, Mobil, Shell and British Petroleum] as the oil multinationals were called, controlled all aspects of the industry — financing, exploration, drilling, shipping, refining and marketing. This control enabled them to dictate the selling price and a guaranteed supply of oil. In return, the local ruling elites received pennies per barrel royalties, bribes, subsistence wages for their workers and last but not least, arms to put down any domestic rebellions.

The extent of the power of the Seven Sisters was demonstrated in Iran in 1951, where a nationalist movement was demanding better terms from British Petroleum, the only one of the Sisters operating there. The Iranian Prime Minister, Mossadeq, nationalized BP's holdings and cut off their oil supply. The Labor Government in Britain ruled out the use of overt force. But BP was able to retaliate by getting the other Sisters to agree to not buy any Iranian oil. Unable to sell their oil, the Iranians could do little but watch their economy



“

“MANY AMERICANS BECAME SO ADDICTED TO CHEAP ENERGY AND RISING MATERIAL BENEFITS THAT THEY BEGAN TO BELIEVE THAT THIS GOOD FORTUNE WAS A GOD-GIVEN RIGHT, LIKE THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.....”

“NORTH AMERICA, WITH 6% OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION WAS TAKING IN 40% OF THE WORLD'S INCOME, ONE THIRD OF THE WORLD'S ENERGY.....”

”

crumble and political instability increase. The U.S. smelled an opportunity to extend its influence in this oil rich country. The CIA, with British acquiescence, organized a coup. This was carried out successfully in 1953 and installed Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi in power. In 1954, the American Sisters moved in and claimed the spoils. The Shah granted them all concessions.

Superpower = Superprofits

Cheap energy fueled the U.S. multinationals' expansion into the growing markets of the Third World. Soon after the war, the U.S. domestic market became saturated and domestic fuel and raw materials were becoming scarce and expensive to extract. Their solution was to expand outward. Pushing aside the war-weakened European and Japanese companies, they penetrated the markets of the Third World.

Centuries of colonial exploitation and plunder left many former colonies with weak and distorted national economies. They were basically raw materials producers with little or no control over prices or the market. With not enough capital for development programs, they began to seek outside aid. Development 'aid' programs and credit from U.S. controlled institutions like the Agency for International Development (AID), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), gave the U.S. a foot in the door. This, combined with CIA bribes and covert action, allowed U.S. companies access to the cheap raw materials, labor and vast markets of the developing countries.

This expansion of the U.S. empire reaped a bonanza in superprofits, which in turn allowed the system to coopt and pacify a large part of the U.S. working class, mainly White skilled workers. Rising paychecks, cheap consumer spread to other universities and evolved into a militant anti-draft, anti-war movement. Huge anti-war exploitation and class/national oppression at home.

North America, with 6% of the world's population was taking in 40% of the world's income, and using one third of the world's energy.

The United States is the most technologically advanced country in the world, but on the other hands, it is one of the most politically backward. The average American is almost totally unaware of imperialism's workings, and how the ruling class manipulates the U.S. government.

Cheap oil and energy distorted the U.S. economy, too. It created a culture and economy based on cars, rootless mobility and suburban sprawl. Automobiles individualized Americans and encouraged the White middle class escapist mentality of fleeing the problems of the inner city and its increasingly non-White inhabitants by moving to the suburbs.

The boom in the domestic economy also encouraged a belief by many white Americans that their high standard of living was a product of their own hard work, ingenuity and the so-called 'free enterprise system.' Their racist attitudes towards Blacks and other non-whites were easily transferred to the dark skinned, 'backward' and 'lazy' people of the Third World. Henry Luce of Time-Life Publications took to calling this the 'American Century.'

Many Americans became so addicted to cheap energy and rising material benefits that they began to believe that this good fortune was a God-given right, like the pursuit of happiness. It wasn't until rising inflation (fueled by a jump in energy prices) began to undercut this growth did they begin to question this prosperity based on cheap foreign energy.

The End of an Era

Rising anti-colonial movements in the Third World began to produce revolutionary and national liberation struggles in many parts of the American Empire. The nationalist and socialist governments that emerged began restricting profits and even nationalizing branches of the multinationals.

Finally, the oil nations, whose non-renewable resources were being plundered ruthlessly, began to try and take control over pricing and production policies. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed in 1960. The U.S. began to lose its grip on these cheap sources of energy.

The U.S. defeat in Vietnam was a turning point. The high water mark of its expansion as an empire had been reached, and the downhill slide began. Johnson's 'guns and butter' policies pushed inflation into the double digits. The civil rights movement turned into a militant Black Power movement following massive rebellions in the ghettos. The 'Free Speech' movement in Berkeley spread to other universities and evolved into a militant anti-draft anti-war movement. Huge anti-war rallies and peace marches called for an end to the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The Puerto Rican independence movement and Native sovereignty movement exposed to the world the oppression in the internal colonies. Watergate, the CIA dirty tricks and the FBI's COINTELPRO program showed the lengths the ruling class would go to preserve its power domestically.

The 1973 Arab/Israeli War and oil embargo ushered in the 'energy crisis' with gas lines and talk of rationing and quotas. The value of the dollar plummeted while gold prices shot up. In an effort to slow down the rate of inflation the Federal Reserve had to keep raising the prime rate on interest.

When the Iranian people overthrew the U.S.-backed Shah in 1979, a huge market was lost to the U.S. multinationals and defense contractors. For 25 years the Shah had plundered his country's wealth in partnership with American oil companies. Over the years, his U.S. trained military and secret police, tortured and murdered tens of thousand of Iranians who dared to protest his brutal dictatorship.

After he was run out of Iran, he appealed to his friend and business partner, David Rockefeller (head of the Chase Manhattan Bank and Exxon) for help in entering the U.S.. Rockefeller responded by sending his protege, Henry Kissinger, to pressure Carter and the State Department for the Shah's admission. Carter quickly

caved in, despite warnings of a backlash in Iran. He approved the Shah's entry, ostensibly to allow him closer consultations with the CIA on how to destabilize the Khomeini government and engineer his return to power.

Iran was a tremendous loss to U.S. imperialism, not only in oil reserves, business investments, CIA listening posts near the Russian border, a major military ally, and a major regional power base, but also is a loss of the 'haunted success story' of Westernized capitalist development.

The Petrodollar Crisis

The energy crisis threatens the entire structure of the capitalist world. According to Jack Anderson, it contains the "seeds of depression, revolution and even war." The U.S., as a prime instigator of this situation, is not immune to any of these eventualities.

Even though the jump in energy prices hastened the onset of the crisis, the key aspect is a distorted international monetary system whose imbalances are rapidly becoming out of control.

When the oil producing countries began receiving a greater return for their oil, they began to build up a huge surplus of 'petrodollars,' as their oil earnings are called. With a limited domestic market for investment, they have to recycle these petrodollars elsewhere. They usually turn to the big American and European banking houses and development banks like the IMF. These banks in turn lend out the money to the Less Developed Countries (LDC's) in the Third World.

The LDCs in turn are increasing their indebtedness to these banks (mainly U.S. owned) as a result of rising energy prices, inflation in the cost of manufactured imports, and not enough return on their own basic exports. The private banks are raising their interest rates and refusing to make new loans. The IMF is demanding austerity measures and imposing economic controls before refinancing any new loan packages. The result is usually reduced productivity, rising unemployment and increasing political unrest in the developing countries.

With debt service payments on their loans growing faster than their ability to pay, the LDCs are beginning to start defaulting on their loans. With \$300 billion in total debts, the LDCs are not making any progress, and are especially hard hit by the quantum jump in energy prices. If they begin defaulting on a large scale, this would cause a panic in the international money markets.

Worsening political and economic instability could cause the oil producing countries to shift their holdings of Petrodollars to other hard currencies and/or gold. This would trigger a collapse of the Western monetary system, which is hinged on faith in the U.S. dollar.

The Military Solution

If the economy collapsed and the West plunged into depression and political upheaval, the U.S., either alone or in concert with the NATO countries, would invade and take over the oil fields of the Persian Gulf. As an article in *Business Week* magazine said in November 1979, "If the world economy breaks down, the (Western) nations will resort to war. . . as they always have in the past." Even now the Pentagon is assembling the men, equipment and bases for the creation of the Rapid Deployment Force. This force of 110,000 men would be capable of intervening anywhere in the world where the U.S. felt its interests threatened.

This may or may not initiate a confrontation with the Soviet Union, but would surely incite a massive uprising in the Arab and Moslem world against the West. If Vietnam turned out to be a quagmire that swallowed up 600,000 U.S. troops, this would be worse. The U.S. could be pitted against hundreds of millions of Moslems across thousands of miles, from North Africa to Central Asia.

Even if the Soviets didn't intervene directly, they would certainly arm and support those areas of the Moslem world where they felt their security threatened. And, as the recent intervention in Afghanistan demonstrated, they will use force when they want to protect pro-Soviet regimes directly on a sensitive border area.

Neither Superpower wants to be forced into a nuclear confrontation, but that would not prevent them from



using conventional forces whenever and wherever one felt it had the geopolitical and military advantage. Neither has ever been prevented (especially the U.S. which had an early advantage) from repeatedly engaging in small wars and 'police actions' in every continent, since 1950 and up to the present.

And even the idea that there would be no winners in a nuclear war or that a balance of terror will prevent either side from using nuclear weapons is now being questioned in ruling class circles. This ominous new trend recently surfaced in the Council of Foreign Relations journal *Foreign Affairs*. The article, titled "Rumours of War: The 1914 Analogy," said, in part, "Now that doctrine (Mutually Assured Destruction) is challenged by those who ... argue that nuclear weapons should be made 'usable' and 'these new arguments on the fighting of a nuclear war raise ... a bias toward preemption, a willingness to undertake a conflict that is assumed to be short and 'winnable'."

The U.S. has reached its peak as a world power and is now definitely on the decline. The Chinese saw this back in 1976. In an interview in the *Guardian*, William Hinton summarized the Chinese point of view on the two superpowers. "The U.S. in its total, all around ability to command world resources, to produce and make war is still considered to be the strongest power, but this strength is limited in many ways and difficult to mobilize. The U.S. is overextended, it has suffered two major defeats overseas, its imperial ambitions have been exposed before the world's people and before the people of the U.S.. The latter will not readily support overseas adventures in the future. The U.S., in a word, is an empire in decline that cannot easily bring its great strength to bear."

"The USSR, on the other hand, is an empire on the make, aggressively seeking a redistribution of the world's resources, devoting a far larger part of its gross national product to armaments than the U.S., an empire, furthermore, that has not been fully exposed to the people of the world or to the Russian people." Therefore, says Hinton: "The thinking in China is that short of a revolution in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., a third world war is inevitable ... as long as these two great powers ... exist in their present form and contend for dominance, war is bound to come. Detente is an illusion, a smoke screen that covers up underlying stark reality — an arms buildup leading to war."

The war could easily spread to Europe, Asia — even to the Western Hemisphere. Wherever the two superpowers are contending for strategic raw materials, markets and geopolitical power.

The U.S. could possibly lose the war, which could provoke revolution and/or civil war domestically. No matter who wins, there will be enormous destruction, death and suffering around the world and at home.



Orchestrating the Campaign

When Jimmy Carter said that the energy crisis was the "moral equivalent of war," the portent for the future was clear. At present, the U.S. is actively preparing for war. Carter is pushing to reinstate the draft, increase defense spending and cut off the SALT talks.

The Iranian situation gave them a golden opportunity to psych up the American people against a designated 'enemy,' the oil producing Moslem countries of OPEC. And the following Afghanisthan crisis gave the U.S. the pretext for proclaiming that the U.S. would use force against any outside interference in the Persian Gulf. But the countries in that region who were supposed to benefit from this bombastic 'Carter Doctrine' saw through and rejected this superpower maneuvering. The Syrian Baath Party said, "the anti-Soviet campaign, led by the U.S., is nothing but a camouflage to page the way for a military intervention in our region"; the newspaper *Al-Ittihad* of the United Arab Emirates commented that the U.S. was attempting to use the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as an excuse to expand its military presence in the Gulf, and "the Gulf must remain aloof from conflicts between superpowers and free from superpower presence." The daily *Al Rai Aam* accused the U.S. of "planning to conquer the area and impose its control over the oil wells."

The U.S. government needs an emotional, nationalist 'America, right or wrong' or 'Red Peril' atmosphere to push people into supporting their war plans. Especially so soon after the disastrous and divisive war in Vietnam.

Many Americans would probably be willing to change their wasteful life style, cut back on oil consumption and use renewable energy sources if led by a government truly committed to finding a peaceful solution to the energy crisis. Thousands of Americans are turning to solar, wind, water and wood for their heat and energy needs. Millions would too, if subsidies and widescale development brought the cost down to a reasonable level. The initiative, expertise and technology are there. What is missing is government support and commitment.

An editorial in *New Shelter* March 1980 got to the point. "Are we going to save energy, or madly try to produce more? Is this a crisis of demand or supply? Do we want to spend billions of synfuels and satellites the size of Manhattan to beam microwaves back to earth, or will we spend millions to tighten up our homes? Will we fill the bathtub faster, or will we plug the drain?" Instead of expending effort and money to bring down the artificially high demand through conservation and redirecting public expectations from individualistic consumerism, the government (led by the oil/energy companies) is expending effort and money to find more nonrenewable energy sources (coal, oil shale, uranium) and to protect overextended foreign sources. These large scale, capital intensive and centralized energy development schemes are designed to keep the control and profits in the hands of the same multinational energy corporations who got us in this crisis in the first place.

The 'soft' energy, anti-nuclear and ecology movements want to see labor intensive, small scale and decentralized energy programs that bring down costs and return control to people and their communities. They see that all life on this planet is threatened by the energy/extractive war on the environment. Like Native people, (from whom they learned much about the Natural World) they want to bring their lives more in harmony with natural life processes and systems.

But the multinational corporations which dominate U.S. energy policy are not willing to take the soft energy path. Their major stockholders (the Fords, Rockefellers, Mellons, Duponts, etc.) don't want to give up their tremendous unearned income from dividends, bonds and interest payments. They don't want to sacrifice their private jets, their multiple estates and vacation homes, their plentiful servants, fleets of limos, \$100,000 coming out parties for their daughters, etc. Addicted to wealth and power, they have few qualms about ordering the violent takeover of another nation's energy resources.

General Smedley Butler, former Commandant of the U.S. Marines, said in 1933, "The trouble with America is that when the dollar only earns 6% over here, then it gets restless and goes overseas to get 100%. Then the flag follows the dollar and the soldiers follow the flag." Then he told how he "helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent

place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in," and how he went to Tampico, Mexico, to make it "safe for American oil interests."

It is not in the nature of this ruling class to make sacrifices for the common good. That privilege they leave to the lower classes, who have traditionally ended up doing the fighting and dying. After they have been pressured and manipulated economically and psychologically into equating aggressive war with "patriotic duty."

Repression and Resistance

Historically the ruling class has created scapegoats to direct attention from the failure of the system and to prepare for war. At different times in the past, Chinese, Blacks, Mexicans and Japanese have been blamed for taking jobs and businesses from the White majority and have been the victims of race riots, deportation special laws (the Chinese Exclusion Act) and roundups to concentration camps (the Japanese in World War II). Recently Native fishermen were blamed for depleting the fishing on the Northwest Coast. Bumper stickers (Can't Fish-Spear an Indian) on the cars of disgruntled White sports fishermen led to violent attacks against Native fisher people. The recent ugly (officially condoned) attacks on Iranian students during the Iranian crisis revealed the continuing latent fascist tendencies among many Whites.

When even Senator Kennedy dared to question the wisdom of admitting the Shah into the U.S., he was accused of "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." Future protestors against an imminent war could also be labeled traitors. Racist superpatriotic groups like the Minutemen, Klan, and American Nazis would feel that there was open season on all protestors. In January of this year, in Gainesville, Florida, a White mob shouting racist epithets attacked an all-Black march supporting the Iranian demand for the return of the Shah. The marchers, mainly from the local Black community, carried signs that read, "Free the 30 Million Black Hostages." An editorial in the Black nationalist newspaper, *The Burning Spear*, said in reference to the march, "the horrible spectre of white mobs attacking Iranians throughout the U.S. should resurrect for us all the implications of a lynch mob situation in this country for Black people. We've been this route before."

Other protestors would probably be youth, other non-Whites, and the poor of all races. Poor non-Whites, especially, would suffer from a depression and subsequent war economy from food shortages, wage freezes and out-of-control inflation. In addition to having to sacrifice their young men as cannon fodder to the war machine.

Indian nations, especially those with energy resources, would be pressured to open up their lands to unrestrained exploitation by the multinationals. Already the Northern Great Plains, the Black Hills region and the Four Corners area have been targeted as "National Sacrifice Areas." They are to be subjected to massive strip mining for coal and uranium, oil shale mining and construction of giant power plants, coal gasification plants and 750 KV power transmission lines. Thousands of square miles will be torn up, the water supplies will be depleted and/or polluted, the air dirtied and the local inhabitants will be subject to the social and economic ills of forced urbanization and development.

Historically, the U.S. government has found it politically expedient to first sacrifice Native lands and resources to the imperatives of development. Native people are bound to resist this war on their resources and environment. The land is the lifeblood of our way of life, and is the basis of our traditional economy, culture and political sovereignty, however shrunk and repressed by internal colonization. Ecocidal forced development will mean genocide to Native people.

In their drive to exploit Native energy resources, the government will rely on tried and proven tactics of divide and rule, the carrot and the stick. Divide the Native nations through "elective" and traditional governments, by a well-paid elite ruling over an impoverished majority (the spectre of class divisions). Buy off the leadership and pacify the people with welfare and new housing. Repress those who protest with threats, arrest, and even death.

The energy and raw materials shortage is forcing the capitalists to pass on their costs to the people through

higher and higher prices (inflation). This has the effect of a hidden tax that cuts the buying power of all working people, but hits the poor hardest. Especially those on fixed incomes and with little savings. Welfare, social security and unemployment compensation, food stamps, etc., have kept unrest to a minimum. But when the empire is in trouble, the ruling class may opt to cut back on these social welfare programs, as part of their drive to 'recapitalize' and revamp their aging industrial infrastructure. This will enable them to be more competitive with Western Europe and Japan, whose plants are newer and whose workers are more productive.

The defense budget will be increased substantially, but this will mainly benefit a few large defense contractors and their skilled workers (mainly White).

To cope with a large and growing pool of unemployed (mainly non-White) unskilled workers, the government may try large WPA-type public works programs. And reinstating the draft will take up the slack to an extent.

Bourgeois democracy is the preferred means of governing by the ruling class of the developed capitalist countries. But it can only work smoothly if the GNP is large enough to maintain a program of cooptation, pacification, bread and circuses for the depoliticized individualized masses.

Blacks, other non-Whites, and women have grown more conscious and less willing to accept their lot in this racist sexist society. Despite fierce repression: COINTELPRO, SWAT, assassination of their leaders, etc., the Black movement has survived and is regaining its strength and leadership. The same is basically true of the Native, Puerto Rican and Chicano national movements. Hard lessons have been learned, and the movement has changed as a result. Leadership is less flamboyant and charismatic, tactics are evolving into a long range strategy, programs have acquired more depth and substance.

The same cannot be said of the White Left and student movements. Most were coopted into the system. Others became terrorists, abandoning any patient mass work among workers and poor Whites, although the recent growth of alliances in opposition to nuclear power and other ecological destruction seems a positive development.



If the anti-draft/anti-war movement grows more militant and non-White workers and the poor begin massive protests (demonstrations, strikes, riots, etc.) the government may be forced to declare martial law in selected situation or declare a National Emergency. If these measures fail to dampen resistance, the constitution could be suspended, protesters could be rounded up for internment in concentration camps, and so forth. A fascist movement could be encouraged to carry out what the government legally can't do: kidnap,

torture and murder (via Death Squad tactics used in South America) leaders, activists, etc..

As a last resort, the ruling class could dispense with democratic pretenses and instigate a military takeover or a fascist dictatorship.

The seeds of fascism take root in an atmosphere of economic and social breakdown, war fever, and racist hysteria. International scapegoats inevitably turn into domestic scapegoats. Those who would say, "it can't happen here" would do well to study the history of Germany prior to the rise of Hitler. The "good" Germans refused to face the reality of the fascist movement and were destroyed by it in the end.

Conclusion

The events of the 1980s could be leading to the most serious crisis in the Twentieth Century. The potential for chaos, destruction and death to human life and the Natural World is without precedent in modern times.

Too many of us sit, horrified yet mesmerized by a future so threatening that we become paralysed with inaction. But if we don't become the makers of our own history, we are condemned to become its victims.

As a first step, we have to acknowledge the dangers facing us. Identify the source and become familiar with the terms by which the source is known: imperialism and all its aspects of neo-colonialism, fascism, and even bourgeois democracy. Become knowledgeable about its workings, world-wide and at home. Come together to study, discuss, and work on ideas, tactics, and strategies for a revolutionary alternative — a humane yet Natural World ideology for the defense of all life in this biosphere.

We need to begin a cleansing process, starting with our minds and hearts, cleaning out the authoritarian, racist, sexist, competitive, egotistical ideas and attitudes implanted in our minds by colonialism.

We need to cleanse our bodies of the poisons and drugs that the system offers us in the forms of food, drink, pills, etc. We need to build new relationships to other human beings and to the Natural World, based on the understanding of our interdependence and the strength that grows out of cooperation, respect and mutual support.

Then we need to rebuild our families, communities and nations on a strong foundation of self-reliance, striving to do away with our dependence on imperialism's corrupt, decadent and destructive socio-economic systems, especially its energy connections (a "fix" in two senses of the word).

Lastly, we have to see the power of our own convictions, our ability as individuals, communities and nations to influence, change and take control over our destiny.

Let us begin to see what life we can make for our children.

Red Stick



Shades Of Big Mountain

by Winona LaDuke

(Reprinted from *The Circle*, Late Winter, 1980)

"The barbed wire fence is almost complete. First come the bulldozers which scar the land for generations, crushing all that lies in their way. As the sacred springs, prayer feather covered mesas and trees are torn from the earth; there are cries in the wind and desecration in the air. In the final house, the Moqui and Dine people unite, remembering the traded medicine bundles of 1868"

PUBLIC LAW 93-531: A GRIM AND FINAL SOLUTION

It's a good night's work for some Dine men to take down at least a half mile of government fencing in the Joint Use Area. The federal government calls the area "Northeastern Arizona", but the Dine people call it the Big Mountain Dine Nation. Their main concern is living there.

The right of these non-English speaking people to remain in the only land they have known, is now being challenged by Public Law 93-531. PL 93-531 is the "final solution" proposed by Morris Udall and Congress to the "Hopi-Navajo Dispute," centered on the Joint Use Area.

The traditional leaders of the Hopi (Moqui) and the Navajo (Dine) people have a belief that the Moqui hold the central responsibility for protecting Mother Earth. In turn, they believe that the Dine are the protectors and strength of the Moqui.

Although the two peoples maintain different languages, and similar, yet distinct ceremonies and dances, they share much, including the arid land of the Southwest. Their lifestyle has been radically disrupted since Europeans came to this continent. The Spaniards came first, and were driven out in 1680 by the united forces of Navajos and Pueblos. Historians called this the "pueblo Revolt." The Americans came later and operated in a different manner.

INVASION

Colonel Kit Carson was charged with the Navajo mission in 1863. Carson burned orchards, villages and fields. After he had slaughtered the sheep, the Navajos were offered a "move or starve" option. On March 6, 1864, some 2,400 Navajos began the "Long Walk" to Ft. Sumner — 300 miles from the area they lived in. Carson escorted another 6,000 Navajos to the incarceration center. In 1868, the Navajos were allowed to return to their now barren land and sign a peace treaty with the United States. In the same year, an exchange of "medicine bundles" between the Dine and the Moqui came about, the indigenous form of a peace treaty.

The US government began to exercise a different kind of control over the people. The Navajo had received a small reservation under the treaty. In 1882, the Hopis received a 2.5 million acre reservation — designated for "Moquis and other Indians."

The Navajo population began growing, and their sheepherding lifestyle (which they had become increasingly dependent upon since Carson had burned their orchards) required a larger land area. Contrary to government policies on any other reservation, the US government began expanding the Navajo reservation "by executive order." In 1878, 1880, 1900, 1901 and 1907 the reservation was enlarged — to the tune of almost 18 million acres — the size of West Virginia. By 1934, the Hopi reservation was a tiny island within the borders of the Navajo Nation. The new Navajo settlements had incorporated all of the aboriginal land outside the borders of the Hopi reservation of 1882. By 1930, eleven times as many Navajos lived in the area surrounding the Hopi reservation as there had been in 1882.

OIL DISCOVERED

By this time, the federal government had discovered that a valuable substance underlay the expanding desert land. The Oklahoma Oil Rush was moving westward, and



Navajo (Dine) women resting during the last leg of the Longest Walk, Washington, D.C. They were there to protest the forced removal of their families from their traditional home-grounds.

photo by JEB

Standard Oil became excited about the Navajo reservation area. The only aspect missing was some sort of legal body to legitimize leasing of oil rich land.

Frustrated, Standard Oil went to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1923. The company was not anxious to leave the oil in the ground. The Bureau of Indian Affairs promptly went to the Southwest and found five Dine men who would sign a piece of paper. These men later discovered the paper was a lease, and also that they had suddenly become the Navajo Tribal Council — the federally recognized governing body.

The Hopi nation was "civilized" at a later date. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler Howard Act) was passed, promising massive economic assistance to any tribe who accepted government reorganization of indigenous governments. Coupled with the act was a "rider" detailing "stock reduction" on the reservations. Both parts of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) were aimed at development planning for the now-impooverished Indian nation — that is "development US style."

TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENT LOSES OUT TO BIA

Oliver LaFarge was charged with selling the idea of a Hopi Tribal Council to the Moqui nation. The traditional government responded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with a letter from the Kikmongwi (traditional leaders) in March of 1934:

"In reply to your letters of January 1934, regarding the matters as in forming or organizing a self government, which we already have that has been handed down from generation to generation to this time. . . (concluding) we ask you to return this domain back to the Hopis."

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, was not so easily dissuaded. In 1936, he explained to the Hopis that "The tribes who organize and get their charter are the ones who will get the money, not the ones who fail to organize."

By October of 1936, the Bureau had succeeded (with the assistance of Mormon missions stationed on the reservation) to get the Hopi to vote on the IRA by referendum. The Kikmongwis showed their disapproval by boycotting the election. They were joined by a

majority of the people. At the traditional village of Hotevilla, 13 out of 250 voters went to the polls. Of an estimated total Hopi population of 2,538 "voters" 818 people went to the polls. Of an estimated total Hopi 33% of the population participated in the election for a federally recognized government. 21% of the population formed the new government.

By 1940, even Oliver LaFarge was disturbed at the effects of the IRA, calling the Tribal Council "an unlawful organization called together by the superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to further the will of the Superintendent."

THE DESERT SPREADS

With the 1940's came increasing frustration on the part of traditional people and leaders of the Moqui and Dine people. The impact of Kit Carson, increasing oil exploitation, and the IRA began to reflect on the land and the people. By 1942, one fourth of the productive top soil was removed from 45% of the land. The desert was spreading. In turn, the now "unproductive agricultural land" became slated by the Tribal Councils and BIA for "stock reduction" and energy development.

The newly formed Tribal Councils had agreed to reduce livestock under the IRA. In 1934, the Navajo Tribal Council (NTC) surpassed requirements and eliminated 150,000 goats and 50,000 sheep. The trend continued until 1952, when the Navajo people had retained less than 36% of the 1930 livestock population. Stockowners who did not cooperate were jailed, and their livestock reduced by force. In 1940, agriculture and livestock made up 58% of total Navajo income. By 1958, only 9% of the income was derived from this source.

STARVE OR MOVE

The Second World War had a significant impact on the Navajo Nation and the Four Corners area overall. Much of the "reduced livestock" went to feed American troops overseas, and uranium moved onto the first rung on the ladder in Southwest energy resource exploitation.

The Hopi Tribal Council looked at the "development" of the Navajo Nation, and decided that some form of "economic development" was necessary for the Hopi Nation as well. In 1951, the HTC absorbed a Mormon

“

“ALL TOLLED TODAY THERE ARE FOUR OPERATING COAL STRIPMINES AVERAGING BETWEEN 11,157 ACRES HELD BY GULF OIL AND THE 64,858 ACRES HELD BY PEABODY COAL, INSIDE AND ADJACENT TO THE JUA. ADDITIONAL COAL STRIP MINES ARE PLANNED, INCLUDING THE 40,000 ACRES AT BURHAM (CONOCO—EL PASO JOINT VENTURE), THE STAR LAKE—BISTI DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS; A FEW OF MANY, ALL OF WHICH ARE ONLY POSSIBLE IF THE PEOPLE ARE REMOVED.”

”

lawyer from Salt Lake City, John Boyden, to assist them with their plans for economic development. Under the guidance of Boyden, the HTC filed a land claim and acquired \$5 million for Moqui land illegally confiscated by the U.S. and “given” to the Navajos. In 1962, Boyden initiated a legal suit against the Navajo Tribal Council to gain control of one half the Joint Use Area. By 1972, three legal suits totaling \$90 million in damages were waged against the NTC for Joint Use Area land.

With the extensive lobbying efforts of the HTC, it took Congress two short years of debate to pass PL 93-531, ordering the partitioning of the 1.8 million acre Joint Use Area into separate Navajo and Hopi areas. By 1976, a federal judge in Tuscon had drawn boundary lines and \$3.5 million was allocated for relocation. The deadline for some 6,000 Navajos and 500 Hopis to relocate from “the wrong side of the fence” was set for 1982.

With the backing of Congress, the Hopi Tribal Council has been vigorously policing the newly gained 911,000 acres. A 95 year old Navajo man was recently fined \$168 (one fourth Navajo per capita income) for watering livestock in a spring he has used for 60 years.

The Kit Carson tactic of “starve or move” is again being put into action on the 6,000 Navajos. “Stock reduction” has been reactivated. One family who used to have over 200 head of cattle, sheep and horses now has 32 cows.

BARBED WIRE GOES UP BETWEEN THE PEOPLE

The Joint Use Area Administration is allocated \$500,000 for expenses, and another \$500,000 to put in a barbed wire fence between the people.

According to the Flagstaff based Hopi-Navajo Relocation Commission, the future for relocatees is not bright. The Commission has been studying some 100 families already moved to Flagstaff. According to Christine Chisholm Ture, of the Commission, about 25% of the studied families are having serious difficulties. They are using the mental health facilities at a rate 8 times that of non-relocated Navajos. Many of the older Dine women have died in Flagstaff. The people say it is because they cannot live without the land.

Hopi Tribal Chairman Martin Sekaquaptewa says the 900,000 acres is needed for economic development — “the only guarantee of our future existence.”

Economic development to Sekaquaptewa, head of the Cattlemans Association means cattle grazing. Agricultural studies on the arid land indicate the JUA area is best suited for sheep. Sekaquaptewa is adamant about what he terms “the Navajo mentality.” “For over 100 years,” he says, “the Navajo has gotten his way by force. Because this is the Navajo way, the Navajo thinks it is the only way. . . It is beyond my comprehension how the Navajo people can be considered poor and destitute when the federal government annually assist them with hundreds of millions of dollars to supplement their own tribal revenues which exceed \$25 million annually. There are many Indian tribes across the country who would be more than happy to be poverty stricken with 14 million acres of land on which there are forest lands, lakes, and streams, not to mention gas, oil, coal and uranium. . .”

In his own way, Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald has some sympathy for the soon-to-be relocated Navajos. Noting that some 80% of the adult Navajos in area have not gone to school, he terms them “domestic refugees.” In coordination with the JUA Administration, MacDonald has applied for some acreage north of the Grand Canyon to accomodate homeless Navajos. The land, unfortunately, is uninhabitable—enough to support 43 families out of the 1200 being forced to move. After 4 years, the tribe's application is still pending.

With all the power MacDonald has, it would seem he could do something for the JUA people. MacDonald is

probably the single most influential Indian person in the U.S. Chairman of the Council of Energy Resources Tribes (CERT), Director of the Indian National Bank, Director of the Patagonia Corporation (and various other corporations) and regional chairman for the Boy Scouts of America. MacDonald's main priority has been “economic development” which is another term for energy resource exploitation. All tolled today there are four operating coal strip mines averaging between 11,157 acres held by Gulf Oil and the 64,858 acres held by Peabody Coal, inside and adjacent to the JUA. Additional coal strip mines are planned. Including the 40,000 acres at Burnham (Conoco-El Paso Joint Venture). Star Lake-Bisti development projects, a few of many, all of which are only possible if the people are removed.

MacDonald has also been aggressive about uranium development. As of 1979, there are 36 uranium mines and 6 uranium mills in the vicinity of the reservation. Included in the uranium projects of the MacDonald administration have been the 400,000 acre Navajo-Exxon project (625 square miles), the Crownpoint-Dalton Pass venture (Tennessee Valley Authority, United Nuclear and Mobil Oil) and many more.

MacDonald announced at an Engineering Luncheon held in Albuquerque in 1975, “In one year, the Navajo Nation exports enough energy resource . . . to fuel the needs of the state of New Mexico for 32 years . . .” MacDonald who earns a \$30,000 annual government salary, failed to note that 85% of the Navajo households have no electricity.”

A few more projects are on the drawing board. The Bureau of Indian Affairs predicts 100 uranium mines and 10 uranium mills by the year 2000. Up to 15 coal fired power plants, and their “food source” of 15 strip mines are also on lines. The Joint Use Area (JUA) is crucial to this development.

Below the surface of the arid sheepgrazing land is the Black Mesa Coal Field. In 1964, a bitter legal battle was lost by traditional Hopi and Navajo people at Black Mesa. Their sacred Mother Mountain was turned over to Peabody Coal by both the Hopi and Navajo Tribal Councils. The company agreed to pay each Tribal Council 15 cents a ton for coal. In turn the company received 64,858 acres, with a contract for 2 billion tons

of coal. The Black Mesa Coal Field which underlies the JUA contains an additional 20 billion tons. JUA residing Dine and Moqui people claim to have seen the Utah based company's plans to expand the mining operations. An interesting detail was released in a recent study by the Indian Law Resource Center (Wash. D.C.) — John Boyden, lawyer and instigator of the JUA legislation has been employed by the Peabody Coal Company. Another fact — Harrison Loesch, former liason between the BIA and the Department of Interior is now a Vice President of Peabody Coal.

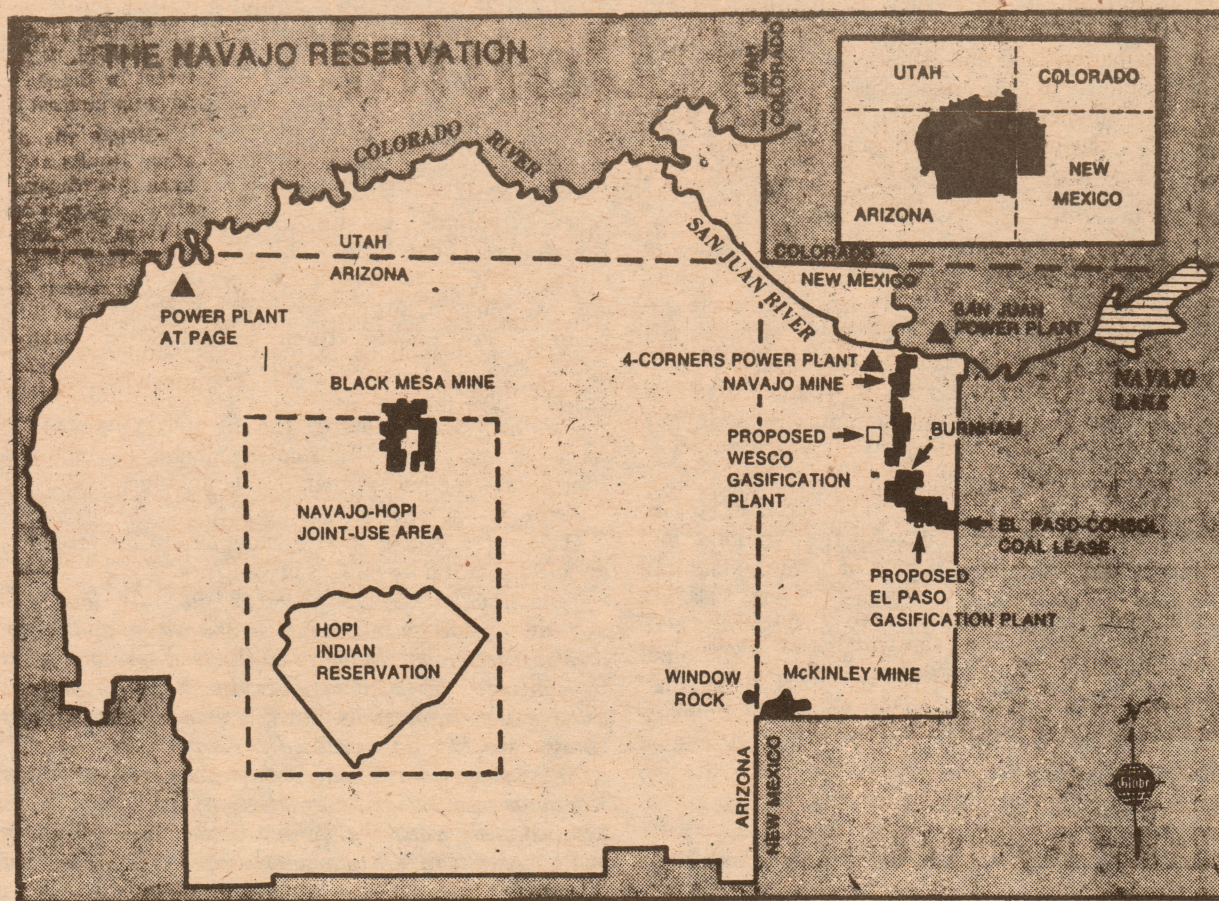
The barbed wire fence is almost complete. First come the bulldozers which scare the land for generations, crushing all that lies in their way. As the sacred spring, prayer feather covered mesas and trees are torn from the earth; there are cries in the wind and desecration in the air, in the final hours, the Moqui and Dine people unite, remembering the traded medicine bundles of 1868.

Big Mountain is sacred to both peoples and the government fencing crew has met no success. On August 9, 1979, the Moqui Kikmongwes (traditional religious and spiritual leaders) called for the repeal of PL 93-531, and an immediate halt to all fencing. On September 5, 1979, 60 year-old Katherine Smith (Dine) was arrested for firing at the fencing crew. On October 23, the Big Mountain Dine Nation issued a “Proclamation of Independence”, demanding immediate action by all federal bodies — on and off the reservation. On November 5, the Big Mountain Dine Nation issued a “Public Notice”, notifying federal authorities that any equipment remaining on their sovereign territory would be confiscated.

As one Dine man from Big Mountain wrote in a letter to President Carter:

“Someday it's going to get to the point where we're going to have to take the law into our own hands to prevent future destruction of our lives and our land. You're trying to force us to commit a crime just to protect our land.”

In the 300th anniversary of the Pueblo Revolt, the cries in the wind take form. The people gather, involved in what they call a “state of seige”. The determined young Dine man dismantle the government fence. Resistance grows.



—Boston Globe map

Radiation: "DANGEROUS TO PINE RIDGE WOMEN," W.A.R.N. study says

A preliminary study by Women of All Red Nations (WARN) has found dangerous levels of water contamination on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, and an alarming increase in spontaneous abortions and cancer mortality. WARN is calling for a state of emergency and immediate delivery of safe, clean water to the residents of Pine Ridge and outlying areas.

The WARN study showed that in one month alone during 1979, 38% of the pregnancies reported to the Public Health Service hospital in Pine Ridge, resulted in spontaneous abortions (miscarriages before the 5th month of pregnancy) and excessive hemorrhaging. Of the children who were born, 60 to 70% suffer breathing complications as a result of undeveloped lungs and/or jaundice. Children have also been born with such birth defects as cleft palate and club foot, disease uncommon to the Lakota people.

A representative survey of 12 families showed that in 10 of the 12 families, an elder has died of cancer since 1962.

In Chadron, Nebraska, off the reservation, similar statistics show spontaneous abortions occurring without any medical explanation. On ranches within and around the Pine Ridge Reservation, the rate of stillborn and deformed cattle has skyrocketed.

"We don't need to look at paper anymore," says Lorelei Means, a founder of WARN. "We have real, physical documentation; unborn children, deformed babies, youth suffering and dying from leukemia and ever-increasing cancer victims. Already 25% of our women have been sterilized. We are still under attack; this is genocide."

According to Dr. Jeffrey Olenick, at the Pine Ridge Hospital, the rate of spontaneous abortions indicated by the study on the Pine Ridge Reservation was higher than national averages. Dr. Olenick indicated to a WARN investigator that he felt a comprehensive health survey of the area was in order and hoped that such a survey would result from the WARN study. Of particular concern to him was the rate of spontaneous abortion exposed during the period of November 15 to December 15. During that period he witnessed 14 spontaneous abortions. His calculations indicate that this was a 38% rate of spontaneous abortions during that period.

Dr. Olenick also expressed concern over the excessive bleeding that is prevalent after these miscarriages. In a normal situation, a woman does not need medical attention post-miscarriage, except for a watchful eye for rare complications. Sometimes a D and C (dilation and curettage) is required. On Pine Ridge, in almost every case, women have had excessive bleeding 48 hours after miscarrying, according to Dr. Olenick.

As many women on Pine Ridge do not use the Hospital's services, except for unusual illnesses, the figures given do not reflect the numbers of women who may not have detected or considered medical care for miscarriages in the early stages of pregnancy. The figures also do not reflect situations where miscarriage threatened but was avoided or very serious cases where surgery was indicated and the patient was transferred to a hospital in Gordon, Nebraska for surgical care.

The cause of these frightening health statistics is unknown. Local and national studies, however, tie these abnormal rates of disease and death to increased contamination of air and water by chemical toxics and nuclear development in the same geographic areas.

The Pine Ridge Reservation lies southeast of the Black Hills — the site of extensive uranium mining and milling during the late 1940s through the early 1970s. The mining community of Edgemont in the Southern Black Hills, 80 miles northwest of Pine Ridge, has over 30 sites of extreme radiation contamination from uranium mill tailings, which retains 85% of the uranium's radioactivity. According to the South Dakota Department of Water and Natural Resources and a 1978 Environmental Protection Agency study, 15 to 30 homes in Edgemont have radiation several times higher than deemed "safe" by health regulations for uranium miners. Increased exploration and massive projected mining plans, with no effective technology for tailing storage, has multiplied concerns for health safety throughout the Hills area.

There is no known uranium exploration or history of

uranium mining on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Its primary source of water, however, is the Lakota Aquifer, an underground water source stemming from the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming and shared with areas to the north.

According to Dr. Charles Hoover, professor of ecology at the University of Minnesota, the Lakota Aquifer is contaminated at the source with herbicides and insecticides, which in the short run can cause spontaneous abortions. In addition, energy companies have been drilling directly into the aquifer and have left exploration holes open, causing surface runoff, well dewatering or draining, and emission of radon, a major uranium by-product which dissolves easily in water but is tasteless, odorless and invisible, contaminating the drinking water of residents and their livestock.

Paul Robinson of the Southwest Research and Information Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico explains, "If holes puncture water-bearing layers and are not plugged, groundwater movement is likely to occur. If low quality groundwater is moving it can contaminate higher quality water layers."

The tailings also move easily, like sand, with the winds across the plains, polluting the air and contaminating surface water. Plants, edible crops and river life hold and concentrate radioactive radium, as do the residents of the area.

The Department of Interior summed up the problems of contamination by tailings holding ponds:

Contamination is well beyond the safe limit for animals. Escape by infiltration to the water table or by breakout to stream drainages could cause contamination by dangerous levels of radioactivity. Stock or humans using water from wells down gradient from tailings ponds would be exposed. Plants and animals encountering contaminated flows or contaminated sediments deposited in drainage channels would be exposed. Increasing the danger is the non-degradable and accumulative character of this type of

contamination.

Because of repeated documented links between contaminated water and incidence of disease, including cancer, the purity of Lakota water immediately came question. Water samples were scientifically removed and tested for radioactive alpha emissions. Tests conducted by J. Haworth Jonte, a Rapid City biochemist, proved that Pine Ridge water was not just harmful, but contained a lethal dose of radioactive particles. Radiation is measured in picocuries per liter as uranium. Jonte found 19 picocuries per liter in surface water tested from subsidiaries of the White River flowing into Pine Ridge Reservation and 15 picocuries per liter in groundwater in the Lakota Aquifer under Red Shirt Table community. Above 5 picocuries is considered dangerous by U.S. Public Health Service; the Red Shirt Table sample was three times the dangerous level, and the Pine Ridge water sample almost four times the dangerous level. In contrast, water from Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River Reservation, which flows from the Belle Fourche River, tested at only 1.9 picocuries per liter.

The surface water of Red Shirt Tables comes from the Cheyenne River, which flows through the Angostura Reservoir and past Edgemont, South Dakota. On June 11, 1962 an accident at the uranium mill in Edgemont spilled 200 tons of radioactive mill tailings into Cottonwood Creek. Much of the radioactive material washed 25 miles downstream until it sank into the Angostura Reservoir. No cleanup has ever been undertaken. (Shutdown: Nuclear Power on Trial, the Book Publishing Company, Summertown, Tennessee, 1979).

The "Waste Guide for the Uranium Milling Industry" underscores the danger of this contamination:

If tailings are permitted to enter the stream, these solids will be deposited and will accumulate for long periods on the stream bed within a short distance from the discharge point. The undissolved radium will be leached from these solids to the overlying waters, increasing the dissolved radium content of the stream.

(The Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center, Technical Report W62-12, published by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare)

Children swimming in subsidiaries of the Cheyenne River have frequently been admitted to the hospital with body sores. Doctors automatically treated for impetigo until one doctor decided to first take a culture and found that the sores were not impetigo. The cause remains unknown.

No information has been obtained that the tailings from Edgemont are not contaminating the White River as well, which is the primary surface water source of the Pine Ridge. However, the water samples tested indicated an abnormal amount of nitrates, which Paul Robinson says can be attributed to gun powder blasts. On the northwest corner of the Pine Ridge Reservation is the "Gunnery Range," an area taken from the Lakota by the U.S. government during World War II for use as a bombing and target range. On June 26, 1975, then Tribal Chairman Dick Wilson transferred the Gunnery Range to the U.S. Park Service — a giveaway of one-eighth of the Pine Ridge Reservation, in secret, without the advice or consent of the Lakota people. The Air Force retained an area near which area residents have sighted large canisters being flown in by helicopter. These reports have raised strong suspicions that the Gunnery Range is being used as a dump for high-level military nuclear waste, which may be leaking radioactivity into the Lakota Aquifer. In this same area, on surrounding ranches, the rate of stillborn or deformed calves has skyrocketed. Northeast of this area are 12 nuclear missile sites, whose radiation effects are unknown.

Director of the Park Service at Pine Ridge, Donovan Shangreaux, explains the presence of nitrates as chemical wastes from the lagoons outside each district housing subdivision. The settling ponds are too shallow. The water becomes contaminated when the wastes leak into the water table and are pumped into the housing's plumbing by the pump houses some 100 feet away. This data, obtained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has not been made available to the Oglala Lakota people.



DEFEND YOUR UNBORN

Another possible source of chemical contamination is the wanton use of poisonous dioxins in 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D used in combination as "Agent Orange" for insect control in the grasslands of South Dakota. Agent Orange was the defoliant used by the United States in Vietnam to clear the jungles and agricultural fields of Vietnamese guerrillas. There has since been an eightfold increase in liver cancer among Vietnamese living in those defoliated areas. The dioxins are part of the war machine brought home for domestic destruction. Use of these chemicals remains legally uncontrolled in South Dakota rangelands and during the grasshopper blight in recent years has significantly increased. The chemicals used in South Dakota may have a different name but they have the same chemical composition. It is known that they have been sprayed in the Big Horn Mountain area, the original source of the Lakota Aquifer, 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D have been documented as the cause of health problems in other communities.

Concerned health professionals have noted the statistics on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and it is known that as early as 1976 Pine Ridge water quality was tested and found contaminated. No results were ever promulgated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which contracted the study, or the Indian Health Service, the federal agencies allegedly responsible for the health and well-being of Indian people. And, of course, nothing has been done to alert the Lakota people of the potential health hazard of the water or to purify or replace the water supply.

There is no easy answer, Urban Rapid City, 100 miles away, draws its water from the Madison Aquifer, on the two most important water sources in western South Dakota. Geological and hydrological maps trace the Madison north of the Pine Ridge Reservation, from Oelrichs to near the White River. Researchers at the South Dakota School of Mines challenge this boundary, however, they say that in fact it runs far closer to, if not on, the reservation. The Madison, like the Dakota, is artesian, under high pressure that moves the water to the earth's surface without being pumped. It is also highly alkaline, and in Rapid City requires an extensive, sophisticated and expensive purification system to be drinkable. Drilling to its depth far below the Lakota Aquifer poses prohibitive costs. Thus, finding an alternative water source for the Lakota is a life or death problem, involving over 800 wells.

Radiation contamination has been found in well water on four Indian reservations. The Indian Health Service and the Environmental Protection Agency found radioactive contaminants in 19 of 150 wells tested on unnamed reservations in Arizona, New Mexico and California. According to Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), "No one knows for sure the source, nature or extent of the radiation in excess of standards proposed by the EPA." It is obvious, however, that Arizona and New Mexico are the focus of large rich uranium deposits and the arena for exploitative energy development. Western South Dakota is similarly targeted as a national sacrifice area to the energy crisis in the United States. uninformed, and like the U.S. energy policy, will be resisted by WARN and Indian people throughout the energy belt. Water is life.

Already Congressman Morris Udall (D-Az) has responded to WARN's call for a complete Congressional investigation. Roy Jones, Counsel on Oversight with Udall's House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, is investigating avenues of relief for the people immediately affected by the contamination. Jones is also exploring the possibilities for Congressional hearings and a General Accounting Office study of the water on Pine Ridge, similar to studies conducted on the Navaho Nation.



W.A.R.N.

**Lorelei Means/
Madonna Gilbert**

**We Will Remember Group
Porcupine S.D. 57772**

FAMILY PERMITTED TO LIVE IN "KNOWN" CONTAMINATED HOME; CHILDREN MOST AFFECTED

(A Black Hills Alliance report)

by Sherry Oswald and Colleen Ragan

Neal and Genevive Brafford, a Lakota couple, moved into their first real home two years ago in Edgemont, S.D., not suspecting that the house was radioactive. Federal, state and local officials had known this since at least 1972, but failed to warn the Braffords of the health hazard involved. A phone call on January 8, 1980 from the South Dakota Department of Water and Natural Resources informed Brafford of the dangers and convinced him that he and his family should move. Three days later, they relocated to a two bedroom apartment. According to 1978 Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) study, the Brafford house has the highest radioactive readings in Edgemont.

Brafford was notified by state officials that radiation levels at his home "were high enough to cause harm" and that he should "move his son out of his room in the basement immediately." The boy, Christopher, age 5, had had a room in the basement for two years. The state suggested moving the boy because he was being overexposed to radon gas and radon daughters released from the uranium wastes. Radiation has a devastating effect on children, because their cells grow rapidly and are more likely to be affected by radioactive materials than adults.

Tests in the upstairs of the Brafford house revealed dangerously high levels there as well. The readings throughout the house from .66 to .79 working levels (compared to .004 background working level, were over twice the exposure allowed uranium miners. The exposure is even more serious because both Neil and his wife smoke cigarettes which inhibits the lung's ability to flush out radioactive pollutants. Even more distressing, the growing cells of the three Brafford children, Chris, Marisa (3 years), and Ephraim (6 months), are extremely susceptible to damage from radiation. The damage from excessive radiation exposure can take many different forms, from terminal cancer and leukemia to congenital birth defects, diabetes, and asthma which may show up at any time during their lives and the lives of their descendants.

A survey of Edgemont was conducted on November 6-8, 1978 by the USEPA. This survey found 54 new sites as having high reading with 16 locations possessing possible mill tailings. The foundation of the house was built on tailings incorporated as land fill, a practice common in this region. The Braffords' house once more showed up with one of the highest readings in Edgemont.

The phone call came over seven years after AEC mobil gamma radiation survey identified the Brafford house and 144 other sites as having high readings, 44 of which were identified as having possible uranium mill tailings use. The tailing were the legacy of a uranium mill which was operated in Edgemont by the Chicago-based Susquehanna-Western, Inc., from 1956 to 1972.

The Edgemont school grounds also had high readings. The final EPA draft of the survey results was issued on Aug. 10, 1979 at which time the EPA, the State, TVA and NRC decided to install radiation monitors inside the Braffords' house and to take soil and water sample. However, the monitors were not installed until December, and the results were not back until January. As before, no one had informed the public, the Braffords, or other affected citizens of the results of the 1978 survey.

It was their first real home. The Braffords had bought the house two years before with a \$26,500 loan from Farmers Home Administration. Apparently, mill tailings had been used as land fill underneath their house when it was placed there around 1961. Now they are stuck with a radioactive house, which no one wants, and a \$23,500 debt and no one is willing to take responsibility. Mr. Brafford has been laid off from his job with Burlington Northern Railroad since November, forcing his family to accept some welfare to survive.

The Braffords must now keep a constant health vigil for the rest of their lives. The Center of Disease Control, a federal health crisis agency with expertise in epidemics, is studying the Edgemont situation to decide whether it should become involved. The immediate concern is the family's health. Only a few tests are

known to be able to detect radiation damage. The most reliable one, a chromatid sister exchange study, test for chromosome breakage and is needed for each member of the family. The tests conducted by the Roswell Cancer Research Institute in Buffalo, N.Y., costs \$100 each. The Braffords also needed at least \$1,000 for transportation to and from the cancer institute. They, of course, cannot afford to have the tests done and are desperately looking for someone who can pay for them to have the tests.

No state or federal agency has shown any willingness to foot the bill for these crucial tests. Genny Brafford is quite distraught over the possibility that her small children may have been permanently harmed by high radiation exposure and is hopeful the tests can shed some light on the seriousness of the damage.

The Braffords' feelings — Shock, at first. Now they say, "Someone should be responsible. They knew the tailings were there."



THEORY OF IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Continued from page 18.

power, whether they are just or unjust. Shi'ite says those in authority are put there by God. They are sinless and they are always just. Therefore, if the person in authority is unjust, then he cannot have been divinely appointed and it is the duty of the religious leaders to rebel or they will be punished by God.

The divinely appointed act in absolute justice. The true Shi'ite cannot remain silent in the face of injustice. It is exactly upon this point that the Shi'ites brought this revolution about. Anyone who went to the demonstrations would first purify himself (wash) with water and then go out into the street to defend his belief. "If I am successful I will achieve justice, and if not I will be killed and find my place in heaven."

The Shi'ite sect has kept monotheism alive to this day. It is the same school that has been handed down from the Prophet. If a religion says that a person must accept an authority which is unjust, will your children accept such a system? It would mean that God accepts such a system and that God is unjust.

This is the ideal which every Shi'ite must strive for. It is only Shi'ism which says that the law and the enactment of the law must come from God, and the leaders must be sinless and appointed by God. Purity of Religion. Purity of Government. Leaders sinless, pure and without fault.

Shi'ism has saved people from servitude and slavery. The people who gladly gave their lives (the martyrs) — those who were happy though their sons and daughters were killed — they are simple people and perhaps cannot express the belief which is in their heart. We reenact the uprising of Imam Husain, the Chief of the Martyrs.

In Husain's time, the Moslem government followed unjust ways. Husain and his 72 followers rose up to announce to the world that those who follow unjust rulers are not right. Husain remains alive today through the three days of mourning called Mashura. On those days the people reawaken in themselves the values of Imam Husain. Imam Khomeini used this awakening of the people to the values of Husain and showed the people that Mashura was happening again and they must follow Husain as if he were alive today.

SHORT NOTES

PINOCHET GOVERNMENT ATTACKS MAPUCHE INDIANS

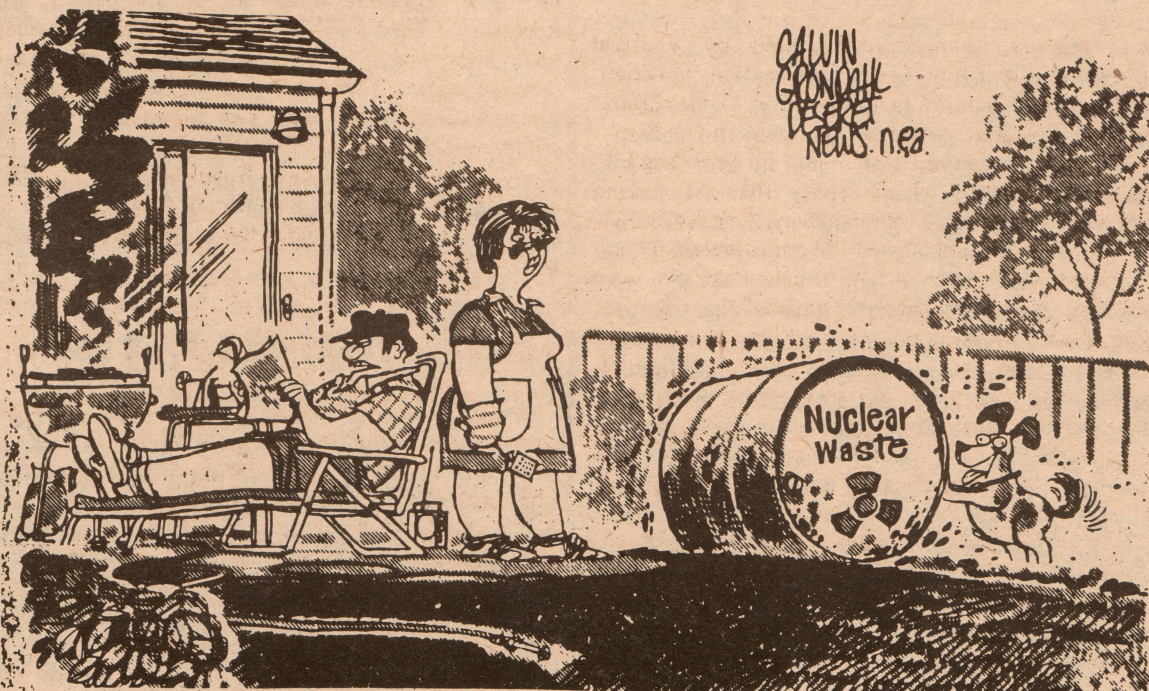
Three hundred thousand Mapuche Indians living on 2,000 Indian reserves in Chile are facing new pressures from the reactionary Pinochet government there. Under a new Chilean law, (the Mapuche Land Law No. 3568) communally-held reserved lands will be divided into small individually-owned plots upon the request of one "occupant" on the reserve. The occupant requesting land division does not need to be Mapuche - it can be someone who is simply renting the land, or someone who has expropriated the land. Once the land is divided, it is no longer considered Mapuche land, and those Mapuches whose land is divided lose their Indian status.

The Mapuches are being offered credit and loans if they divide their lands. Because their tiny piece of land is the only collateral they have to obtain loans and credits for fertilizers and seeds and implements, and because they are extremely poor now, many Mapuches will go into debt, lose their land entirely, and be forced into subsistence jobs in nearby farms or in the cities. The Pinochet government's policy towards the Mapuches is being compared to the "White Revolution" in Iran in 1963, a program which was touted in the Western press as a land "reform" movement but which resulted in impoverishment and misery for millions of peasants and which vastly increased the Shah's landholdings. A similar program, called the Dawes Act, was enacted by the U.S. government in the 1880s.

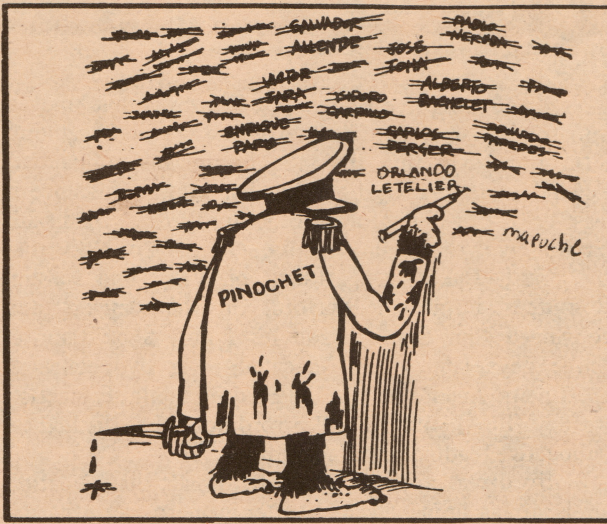
There is evidence that coercion and harassment is being used in some cases in order to get the Mapuches to agree to land division. In one instance, several Mapuche communities were visited by a local city mayor and told that if they did not consent to the division, they would lose access to credits and loans at the store.

The Mapuche reservation land is now under the direct control of the Department of Agriculture which, since the coup, has been strongly influenced by and linked to the national Agricultural Association comprised of some of Chile's wealthiest landowners. One of the major investment opportunities in the area is in the forestry industry. When land treaties were signed at the turn of the century, the Mapuches were placed on the most undesirable land south of the Bio-Bio River. Today, however, Chilean economists see that the area is rich in forestry and agribusiness potential. Pine trees, in particular, are being grown in more and more areas. Because of the climate, pines are able to mature in half the time required in northern climates such as Oregon.

(Adapted from a news release by the Inter-church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America, 40 St. Clair Ave. East, Toronto, Ontario M4T 1M9.)



"I give up dear, what has Spike found buried in our back yard?"



COMPUTER STUDY SAYS ECONOMIC PROGRESS WOULD BRING SOCIAL PROBLEMS TO UTES

The Salt Lake City Desert News published a story recently that said, "the Ute Indians of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in eastern Utah must choose between further economic development or social well-being. They can't have both." A Utah State University professor did computer studies to see what changes the development of Indian resources on the reservation would cause. The computer study, based on maximizing the per capita income of the Utes, showed that a 10 - 15% income rise in the next five years would also bring sky-rocketing alcohol-related arrests, possibly a doubling of the present figure. The professor said that the alcohol-related arrests could be used as a barometer of general social conditions. The Utes face "very difficult trade-offs," the professor said. (This item appeared in Vince Lovett's INDIAN NEWS NOTES, published by the BIA.)

LEO KRULITZ HAS RESIGNED

Interior Department Solicitor Leo M. Krulitz has resigned. Traditional Native people familiar with his record and with his policies probably will not miss him very much. In his tenure with Interior, Mr. Krulitz has been a hard-line advocate of the school of thought which gives credence to such doctrines are the Rule of Tee-Hit-Ton under which the U.S. government claims the right to simply take Indian lands without due process or without just compensation. Curiously, despite the record, attorneys for the Native American Rights Fund expressed regret that Krulitz was leaving. They felt that he had been an advocate for the Indian community on a number of tough issues. Still, for the time being he has gone through the revolving door of public administrators - to a position in private industry. Good bye Mr. Krulitz.

NATIVE PEOPLES IN MEXICO

Although Mexico is the world's largest Spanish-speaking country, it is not well known that almost 11 million people (about 10 percent of the population) speaks very little or no Spanish. Those 11 million speak one of the Indian languages native to Mexico. Anthropologists say that there are 58 Indian languages still spoken in Mexico, with 183 dialects which are mutually unintelligible. In 1770, the Spanish Crown ordered the extinction of the Indian languages.

NATIVE PEOPLE AND URANIUM IN LABRADOR

The Labrador Inuit Association is presently attempting to halt the development of the Brinex uranium mining and milling project in the northern Labrador coastal communities of Makkovik and Postville. The project has a target date of June 1, 1980. The Labrador Inuit Association believes the uranium project is environmentally unsound, and that a competent environmental impact study would prove it.

Thus far, however, there has been no competent environmental impact study. The Newfoundland-Labrador government's Department of Consumer Affairs and Environment, the agency charged with assessing the environmental impact of the project, has committed the project to examination by lay people in a series of three community meetings which took place over a period of one week.

The provincial government of Newfoundland-Labrador does not have any environmental impact legislation and has committed itself to a "voluntary" process of evaluation of the environmental impact of this project. The provincial government did, however, conduct its own study of the matter, but has refused to release the results of the study to the public. Instead, the government required Brinex to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement.

The report sent by Brinex to the provincial government is also a source of controversy. Data contained in the report conflicted with a preliminary site evaluation report sent to Canada's Atomic Energy Control Board. For example, the Environmental Impact Statement sent to the provincial government indicated an expected uranium oxide emission rate of 10,368 grams per day, while the report sent to the Atomic Energy Control Board listed 170 grams per day, a difference of over 10,000 grams per day. Similarly, concerning the rate of radon gas dispersion, the report sent to the atomic Energy Control Board contains emission rates that are three times higher than the rates contained in the Environmental Impact Statement submitted to the provincial government.

Despite such controversies, the provincial government seems to be committed to the Brinex project. Hazel Newhook the Minister of Consumer Affairs and Environment, has announced that the province does not intend to hold a public inquiry into the Brinex uranium project. It appears that the provincial government will not or does not want to assume the responsibility even at the public hearing level. Ms. Newhook stated quite clearly in a news release to the *Labrador Report* that any questions that the public wants answered will be taken care of by Brinex.

The Labrador Inuit Association has taken the position that a full public inquiry into the Brinex Uranium Mine is important and necessary to the people of Labrador. Consistent with uranium mining policies in the United States, Australia, and other parts of the world, uranium politics in Labrador include a determination by government to push forward mining projects without regard to the opinions or health prospects of the people most directly affected by the project.

(Adapted from an information packet supplied by the Labrador Inuit Association, P.O. Box 70, Nain, Labrador AOPLO, contact Randy Sweetnam, (709) 896-8582.)

SHORT NOTES

RED LAKE UPDATE

Nine months after a rebellion which left the Red Lake (Minn.) Chippewa reservation a shambles with \$4 million in property damages, two dead, and five men under long jail sentences, Chairman Roger Jourdain's administration continues to rule from Bemidji, 30 miles south of the reservation. Red Lake is becoming a monument to the BIA's policies under which Native communities participate in elections of officials over which they have no democratic control and in which gross abuses abound under the closed eyes of the Interior Department.

Last year, the Red Lake community exploded when the Jourdain administration dismissed Stephanie Hanson from her elected post as tribal council treasurer. Her husband, Harry Hanson, was described as the man who led the revolt. He received a 26-year sentence for his part in the rebellion which destroyed a number of buildings in Red Lake, including the police headquarters and Roger Jourdain's new home. The BIA told Jourdain's council in July that Hanson's firing was illegal, but she has not been reinstated. Last fall, a core of about 100 people, including Stephanie Hanson, formed a constitutional committee and came up with a proposal for eight amendments to the Red Lake government. The amendments called for opening council records and meetings to the public and for a special election for the seats of all council members and officers except Hanson. They gathered the signatures of 944 enrolled members of the Red Lake band. Hanson said she considers that number a majority since the highest number of voters in any Red Lake election was 1530. They submitted the petition on October 12, but received no response.

The Interior Department finally stepped in on December 19. Then Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, Forrest Gerard sent a wire to Jourdain which threatened that the BIA would withdraw recognition of the Red Lake Band if Jourdain's council failed to act on the dissident's petition, the reinstatement of Hanson, and the turning over of financial records.

In February, the Tribal Council caved in on the audit issue and agreed to instruct tribal employees to cooperate with the Interior Department. But they did not give much credence to the petition. First, they said that they didn't have a copy of the original petition. Interior saw that they got the original and asked that they take action within 10 days. Then they said that some people had signed the petition twice, and that some signatures were of people who were not members of the Band. The Tribal Council then said that the petition had failed because it did not contain the required number of valid signatures.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs then took the matter to their computer. According to their records, as of October 1979, there were 3815 eligible voters on the Red Lake rolls. (The greatest number which had ever voted, a BIA source said, was around 1580.) The BIA then involved 25 CFR part 53, a federal code which provides that a petition is binding if it contains the signatures of 25% of the eligible voters, in this case 954. (It is conceivable that the Code of Federal Regulations which the BIA used in this case could require in some cases that more people must sign the petition for it to be "valid" under the regulation than have ever participated in an election. This did not occur at Red Lake, but should the procedure become a BIA policy on reservations, that situation could well arise.)

The prevailing line of thought in the Interior Department has it that Interior has full right and authority to decide the outcome of political affairs on Indian reservations. (In that respect, Interior is in step with the State Department, which takes the same view of their right to interfere in the internal affairs of countries around the world, a policy which has been encountering difficulties as of late and one which the American people would do well to reconsider.) At any rate, Interior then organized a two-man commission to go down to Red Lake, hear all sides, and come back and make recommendations about what Interior Department should do. The two selected were old-time Interior Department fellows Bob Bennett and Graham Holmes. As we go to press, Holmes and Bennett have

submitted their report with recommendations and the Interior Department was expected to make some announcement at any moment.

It should be noted that the real culprit at Red Lake is not merely the alleged corruption in "tribal politics" but the federal government's more-or-less unwritten policy in the Indian country. According to federal officials, the federal government has full right to make any kind of policy decision it sees fit, including setting up tribal governments which have a great deal of latitude to commit abuses against their people. (The federal government also claims the *right* to have full policy power to determine the disposition of "tribal assets," including land, water, and natural resources.) When the systems of government which the federal government has caused to be installed begin to flagrantly abuse people's rights, the Interior Department and other federal agencies close their eyes to these abuses until the situation turns into the kind of situation that occurred at Red Lake.

Until the federal government recognizes that Native people have the right of self-determination, it is predictable that there will be more incidents like the one last May in Red Lake. The entire spectre of what are basic wrongs in federal policy — the assertion that the federal government has ultimate authority to determine the disposition of peoples lands and resources and that Native people are without any rights against these federally-imposed governments and policies — all of those things are visible in the Red Lake affair. It is the federal policy which must change if things are to get better in the Indian country.

FOUR AIM PEOPLE REINDICTED

The Ninth Circuit Federal Court of Appeals has reinstated three-year-old indictments against Kamook and Dennis Banks, Kenneth Loud Hawk, and Russell Redner on charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives. The original charge was dismissed three years ago when a District Court Judge ruled that most of the government's evidence was inadmissible. The reinstatement of the indictments could return Dennis Banks to Oregon to stand trial on these charges and thence to South Dakota to face charges arising out of events at Wounded Knee in 1973. California Governor Brown has refused to extradite Banks to South Dakota. Banks successfully fought extradition on the grounds that his life would be endangered if he were returned to South Dakota.



LAKOTAS FIND DOCUMENTS SUPPORTING BLACK HILLS CLAIM

Tribal records recently rediscovered by a tribal employee on the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota may lend support to the position of the Lakota people that they were robbed of their lands in the Black Hills. The records contain statements by Standing Elk, Eagleman, and others which testify that the Lakota (Sioux) were coerced into signing away their lands. Berr Ghost, one of those who signed the controversial Treaty of 1876, said, "All those 18 who touched the pen were not authorized by the different bands of this tribe. All of those 18 who touched the pen each got two yards of broad cloth to pay for touching the pen." Standing Elk recounted, "We always feel angry whenever we think of the time when the soldiers stripped us of everything. This happened in 1876, it was late in the fall, just when the ice was forming up along the edge of the river. They took away our ponies, saddles, ropes and guns, practically everything the Indians had, and they piled it in a pile and burned it up." The documents will be presented to the Supreme Court which is ruling upon whether or not the Sioux Indians are entitled to \$104 million in payment for 7.5 million acres of western South Dakota which the Lakota say they never agreed to sell. The question of whether the Black Hills should be returned to the Lakota is not being reviewed by the courts.

CHIEF SMALLBOY GIVEN ORDER OF CANADA AWARD

In 1968, Chief Robert Smallboy of Ermineskin Reserve in western Alberta led a group of Cree Indians into the area now called the Edson National Forest in an attempt to reestablish the spiritual life of the Cree people. The objective of Smallboy's Camp was to shun the white man's world in favor of the Cree traditional ways. Since that time, he and his people have lived in isolation in an area where there are no telephones and where mail is delivered to a general store which was some distance from the camp. Few outsiders have been in constant contact with "Smallboy's band", he had made few public appearances, and journalist contact with the camp has been almost nonexistent since 1975.

In December, the Government of Canada tried to give Smallboy the Order of Canada award, but they couldn't find him. The award is given to citizens for outstanding achievement and services to the country or to Canada. Smallboy is to be honored for "leadership abilities in helping his people maintain their own traditions while showing them a life compatible with the modern world." Smallboy is one of the true traditional leaders of our time. He has shunned materialism, fame, and glory while adhering to traditional values, beliefs and life-style.

NEW CIA CHARTER WOULD EXPAND POWERS

In a development which should surprise no one, a proposed charter which would govern US spy agencies would allow the CIA to spy on Americans at home and would allow the CIA to keep its secrets even more secret than before. President Carter proposed the charter at the time of media-hyped mass hysteria around Iran and Afghanistan.

INDIANS AND SUICIDE

What town has the highest rate of suicide in North America? Answer: Mountain City, a tiny village in the heart of BIA-run Duck Valley reservation in Nevada. Duck Valley has 12 times the national average for suicides — since 1949 at least 50 residents have died by their own hands. Duck Valley has a total population of 1,200 and alcohol abuse is considered a major problem in that community.

\$30 MILLION LAWSUIT AGAINST KERR-McGEE

The Red Rock (Navajo) Widows and their dependents are suing multinational uranium mining company Kerr-McGee for \$30 million in connection with the deaths of uranium miners at the company's Arizona operations. Thus far, the widows and their dependents have been unable to successfully apply for workmen's compensation funds because Navajo miners at Kerr-McGee plants were not covered by workmens compensation insurance during the 1950s and 1960s. Many Navajo miners died from lung cancer which is believed to have been contracted when they were exposed to radon gas and other radioactive substances in work in the mines.

ALCOHOLISM THREATENS BARROW'S INUIT

Barrow (Alaska) is an Inuit village and is the northernmost inhabited village in the world. Researchers from the University of Pennsylvania have reported that the result of the oil boom in Alaska's North Slope is that the Inuit are "practically committing mass suicide" by alcoholism. Violence is rapidly becoming the most frequent cause of death. The researchers listed the degeneration of Inuit culture as the cause of the alcoholism. One of the researchers, Dr. Foulks, said, "Drinking never really caught on before the last decade when the values of the traditional society were minimized by the appearance of a supermarket, a 'try goods store and high cash income.'"

Struggle On The Klamath

(This article by Carol Strickman originally appeared in the January/February issue of *THE CONSPIRACY*, the publication of the Bay Area Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. Editorial commentary is by AKWESASNE NOTES.)

The issue of Indian fishing rights on the Klamath River drew national attention last summer, when armed federal agents clashed with Indians who were asserting their right to fish on the reservation. The Interior Department had instituted an emergency ban on fishing at the mouth of the Klamath and on commercial fishing for Indians, because not enough salmon were coming back into the river to spawn. The State of California issued a temporary moratorium on sports fishing as well.

Indians and sports fishers were restricted, even though federal biologist report that the causes for the decline in the salmon run are generally not attributable to Indian fishing, or to the river fishery. Rather, the habitat has suffered due to unsound logging practices, which have clogged the spawning streams and cut down shade trees along the rivers. A second factor is the effect of the Lewiston Dam on the Trinity River, which has cut off 59 miles of spawning grounds, and has reduced water levels in the river. A further critical factor is that the ocean harvest of Klamath and Trinity salmon runs has gone virtually unchecked. Indian and sports fishing were eliminated, as it was politically more expedient than cutting back the ocean troll industry.

Last year, many Indians continued to fish in protest. At one point, Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus flew out from Washington, D.C., to meet with the Indians, though little was resolved. A SWAT team type of enforcement was conducted on the river by the federal Fish and Wildlife Service. This resulted in dozens of Indians being cited for violations of federal fishing offenses. A special Court of Indian Offenses was quickly established to hear these civil cases. Also, twenty-six Indians were arrested, and about one third of them were injured. The Guild responded by sending volunteer lawyers, law students, and legal workers to the scene to assist the Indians during the confrontation period, and by handling some of the cases which resulted. This article will summarize the experience of the 1979 fishing season, which has not received much media attention, and bring Conspiracy readers up to date with the on-going controversy.

THE 1979 ALLOCATION PLAN

Biologists predicted that the salmon run would be down in 1979 due to the effects of an earlier drought and other factors. A salmon management plan was developed by the various state and federal agencies in which: 1) the ocean season was shortened by one month, with the expectation that only 80 percent of the previous year's harvest would occur; 2) the sports bag limit was reduced from 3 to 2 fish per day and 3) a moratorium was placed on Indian commercial fishing. Under this plan, it was felt that the conservation burden would be shared among all the user groups.

In some ways, the 1979 fishing regulations were a tremendous improvement for Indian fishers. The regulations were made simpler than the previous year's. They were published enough in advance so that most Indians had notice of them. This contrasts with the 1978 regulations, which had gone into effect quickly, with virtually no notice, and which were changed four times during the season. The regulations this year were enforced by local Indian enforcement agents, who demonstrated a greater sensitivity to the situation than had the federal Fish and Wildlife agents last year. There were no confrontation or violence on the river this year.

(It is generally not true that fishing regulations apply equally to everybody. The laws on commercial fishing, for example, are simply unjust laws. The people who profit from the ocean trolling industry—those who own the marketing facilities, the canning companies, the fishing fleet and the bankers who have loaned money to these enterprises—all of these people have an interest in determining who gets the fish. Those groups form what might be called a "class," which is to say an interest



group which has an investment in the fishing industry, investments which may run into millions of dollars. They also stand to make millions of dollars in profits.

Not surprisingly, that class of people—the owners of banks, grocery chain stores, etc.—also has a lot of power. Enough power, in fact, to have laws enacted which guarantee themselves the lion's share of the fish. Those same people (or at least the same class of interests) own the logging operations and pushed for the power dams which depleted the salmon in the first place, and trolling rigs are the real threat to the existence of salmon. The losers, of course, are the Native fishermen and the poor white fishermen who are harassed by the police for trying to get a share of the fish. There is no protection under the law because the laws don't apply equally to the rich and the poor. Racism in the local press and among poor white sportsmen serves to place the Native people, who initially depended upon the fish for livelihood, without any rights under the law. — Ed. Note)

While the ocean commercial fishery prospered, a coordinated law enforcement effort was mounted against Indians suspected of engaging in commercial fishing. Indians were followed and searched by state and federal agents. Neighbors were requested to spy on suspected Indian fish sellers. Aerial surveillance occurred. A federal undercover agent was sent to infiltrate and to purchase fish from Indians. Nine Indians were cited or arrested on sales or related charges. Even including the commercial harvest, biologists estimate that the Indian harvest was only about 20,000 fish this year. While estimates vary as to the number of Klamath and Trinity River fish harvested or killed in the ocean, it is probably between 10 and 20 times the size of the Indian catch. It appears that the spawning escapement goal was not met, and local resort owners are again blaming the Indians.

By the end of the fishing season, the Indians, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Interior Department were in agreement that the Indians would not be able to realize the full potential of their fishing right until the ocean salmon harvest is regulated in a manner which guarantees that enough fish will reach the river for spawning escapement purposes, as well as Indian needs. This November, in Boise, Idaho, representatives of the BIA and of the Hupa and Yurok tribes made a coordinated presentation before the Pacific Fishery Management Council (the Commerce Department agency which establishes the ocean fishing regulations). They criticized the 1979 ocean management plan, and called for a guaranteed allocation of fish to meet Indian needs. Negotiations for an allocation for the reservation fishery are expected to occur.

THE EFFECT OF THE 1979 PLAN

As the fishing season developed, it became clear that cutting back the ocean trolling season was not having its intended effect, and that the river fishery had once again been sacrificed for the benefit of the ocean trollers. By mid-September, ocean trollers had harvested about 6.4 million pounds of salmon off the California coast (about 618,500 fish), which was about 1.2 million pounds *MORE* than the 1978 harvest through September 15. Even more noteworthy as far as the Klamath was concerned, troll landings at the three northern California ports totaled about 4.1 million pounds (or 428,000 salmon), about 52 *PERCENT MORE* than the 2.7 million pounds landed at those ports during the comparable period the previous year. Secretary of the Interior Andrus formally requested that the State of California close the ocean season early, as it appeared that the spawning escapement goal would not be met. The State of California refused, and the season continued until September 30.

Meanwhile, the tribes are working to develop a coordinated management plan for the Indian fishery. Once a reasonable allocation of salmon are guaranteed to them, the tribes can develop their own regulations for Indian fishing. The rules would be enforced by Indian enforcement agents and Indian judges.

However, there is continued opposition to Indian fishing rights. The main debate centers on whether Indians have the right to fish commercially. The tribes, The BIA, and the Interior Department assert that commercial fishing is a tribal right which was reserved by them when the Hoopa Valley Reservation was created. They cite court cases which have held generally that the creation of a reservation "for Indian purposes" includes the right to develop the resources of the reservation for the benefit of the tribes.

The California Attorney General's office disagrees. In October, they sued the Interior Department and the BIA in federal court for a declaratory judgment on this issue. The State argues that a state law, enacted in 1922, which forbids sale of Klamath River fish (if caught in the river) applies to Indians fishing on their reservation. The BIA and Interior were sued earlier this year by Del Norte County and the Hoopa Valley Tribe for authorizing commercial fishing without preparing an Environmental Impact Statement.

Further opposition has come from sports fishing interest. A letter writing campaign was mounted this summer in which tourists complained to governmental officials about Indian fishing. With the publicity in September about the amount of Indian commercial salmon seized by federal agents, Congressmen Don Clausen (R. Crescent City) and Pete McCloskey (R. San Jose) called for an immediate ban on all gillnetting and threatened to introduce a bill which would terminate part of the Hoopa Valley Reservation. All segments of the Indian community oppose these measures.

To the extent that the tribes' fishing rights are threatened, the tribes' very existence as viable Indian communities is threatened as well. The salmon play an important role in the religious life of many Indians on the reservation. The acts of fishing, preparing the fish, and giving the fish to those who need it is an integral part of the Indian way of life. For others, the salmon are important for economic reasons. The salmon are a main staple of many Indians' diets. And many Indian families are able to survive in this area of high unemployment only by selling or trading fish. The right to benefit from a reservation resource is a tribal right which is necessary for the preservation of an Indian way of life.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

Supporters are being asked to write letters to Huey Johnson, Resources Agency, Room 1311, 1416 Ninth Street, Sacramento, CA 95814. You should indicate your support for the tribes receiving a reasonable allocation of the salmon, and your opposition to the effort of the Attorney General's office to limit Indian fishing rights in its lawsuit against the Interior Department.

Ahmed Kooros: A Discussion



(Editor's Note: The following synopsis is based on an informal discussion between AKWESASNE NOTES Associate Editor Mike Meyers, and Mr. Ahmed Kooros of the CERT staff. Formal interviews with any CERT staff member had to be first cleared with Mr. Ed Gabriel, CERT's Executive Director, who seemed reluctant, during the conference to allow any formal interviews with Mr. Kooros. This discussion occurred at poolside during an evening cocktail party sponsored by some of the energy exploiting multi-national corporations present at the conference.)

Mr. Kooros, along with the other upper levels of the CERT staff had been introduced to the conference participants earlier in the day. This took place in a panel format with each person being introduced, and then making a short speech about themselves and the nature of their work. All of the various directors within CERT are non-Native people, and all of the American staff members came off as Kennedyesque Peace Corps types.

Mr. Kooros appeared to be the oldest senior staff member of CERT. He is a short, dapper man, who appeared nervous and spoke in tentative tones about his work. He began his afternoon speech by saying that he saw the work he was doing for CERT, as an extension and continuation of the work he had done in Iran, as deputy minister of oil and finance under the Shah (although he didn't mention the Shah).

I had been told earlier in the day that Mr. Kooros had been Iran's representative to OPEC. He had remained for a very short time in Iran after the revolution. Shortly after the Ayatollah Khomeini assumed control of Iran, Mr. Kooros left ostensibly to attend an OPEC meeting, but had continued his trip to finally land in the U.S. and seek asylum. Within a month, or so, of his arrival he was hired by CERT (Council on Energy Resource Tribes). I was unable to find out who connected him to CERT, or how a decision was made to hire him.

After the afternoon presentations, the floor was opened to questions, during which I had the opportunity to ask the CERT staff if, as non-Native people, they didn't find themselves carrying out a neo-colonial role in acting as facilitators for energy exploitation, and if they had themselves on time lines which would lead to their vacating those posts?

This question resulted in quite a reaction, and a very long drawn out answer on how they saw their role as "helpers" of Native tribal councils to make the best possible decisions regarding energy development, and yes, they would vacate their jobs if there were just some qualified Native persons who could be found to take their place.

That evening during the poolside cocktail bash, Mr. Kooros asked a friend of mine who I was, and would it be possible to talk to me since my question had left him feeling funny. My friend came and got me and introduced me to Mr. Kooros.

It may be that Mr. Kooros is not used to speaking to a large group that made him sound the way he had earlier, because, at poolside, one on one, he was much more in control and relaxed, for the first few minutes.

He began by explaining to me that my afternoon question had made him feel slightly uncomfortable. No, he did not see himself as a neo-colonialist, but rather

just a simple market analyst trying to give his clients the best possible market analysis to base their decisions on about their energy commodities. Yes, he would leave his job, if, he could find a Native person who could take it over, or was willing to be trained by him.

I asked him if, as a market analyst, he also took into account the real costs of energy exploitation in human terms, as well as fluctuating dollars, supply and demand factors.

His initial answer was, No. He did not see that as part of his job. He explained he had been hired to use his talents to ascertain the best possible marketing future for the various energy resources tribal councils wanted to exploit.

I then asked him if when he went to various communities he ever talked with the local peoples who were either living in, or would be living in the areas designated for exploitation.

He patiently explained to me that CERT's staff only works with the tribal councils or their designated representatives, and he had not talked with any people living in the exploited areas. He continued to say that he did not feel that talking with Native people, other than their councils or planners, was part of his job.

I asked if the work he did under the Shah had any parallels to the work he was now doing? If in fact weren't there some strong parallels with bringing in of a rapid influx of exploitable technologies; the boom town economic atmosphere; or the cultural and societal effects of high technology on non-Western cultures? I pressed him further, had he not learned some lessons about what brought about the revolution in Iran, as the people's response to such rapid changes and the oppressive power clique that grew with the changes.

At this point, the conversational tone began to change. Mr. Kooros became tense, and took on an almost negotiating tone in his voice. He said that he had warned many in the Shah's regime of what he felt could happen with such rapid changes. He said those above him wouldn't listen. Yes, he saw the effects of the changes on the Iranian society, and the people. But, he re-emphasized, that he did not have the responsibility, in his present job, to say such things to his new clients.

I asked if he felt that he was working for a group of mini-Shahs, who had the capability of being as calloused to their people's feelings as what had happened in Iran? What about such people as the Navajos at Big Mountain, who are completely opposed to the development and resettlement the Navajo tribal council was trying to force upon them?

The conversation took on a very fast pace of exchange from this point, during which he explained change and growth as an inevitability of history and unfortunately some peoples get caught up in it and are unable to change at the pace they would rather choose. The exchange began to heat up, and suddenly he threw his hands up in the air and exclaimed, "No matter what I do, or say, I'm seen as the oppressor!"

For a moment I had a twinge of sorrow for Mr. Kooros, and all the others like him — the "professionals" of the world. They feel secure in dealing with cold facts and statistics. Surrounded by numbers, paper, and the insulation of their institutions they can remain detached from their humanity and the Creation. They are the pawns in the power games of the greedy. They provide the rationales that lead to the South and Mid-west being declared "National Sacrifice Areas". Once in a while their humanity peeks out, but they quickly hide again and deny that they have a right to look at the full picture, and the full effects of their work in the heart of the extraction of culture.

He saw what happened in Iran, and knows full well what the power games did to the people there. He is again in a position to watch the process unfold once again. He and all of the CERT staff are "Professionals", detached from their connection to the Creation — they live only by their heads, and not with their hearts and senses. It is sad to encounter people like that, but we must remember that they are cogs that keep the oppressive machinery going. Hopefully, as people continue to struggle to recapture their humanity, the struggle will help them to see themselves as members of the Creation, again.

NEVADA NUKES CONTINUED FROM PAGE 28

resulting from weapons tests, are already present. . . " (U.S. Geological Survey)

Nevada is one of three states in the country to store commercial low-level radioactive wastes. Washington and South Carolina are the two other states.

In 1961, the Nuclear Engineering Company began operating a nuclear waste disposal site near Beatty. During the past seven months, the site has been repeatedly closed for numerous health and safety violations. These violations ranged from the burning of a truck carrying radioactive materials to illegal burial of nuclear wastes outside of the site area. Attempts to permanently close the site have been unsuccessful.

The State of Nevada is now proposing new routes to transport radioactive wastes to the Beatty site. According to the proposal, the cities of Las Vegas, Reno, Sparks, and Carson City will be avoided. The new state entry points will be: McDermitt, Jackpot, Wendover, Baker, Mesquite, Davis Dam, Jean, and Lathrop Wells.

If the state proposal is approved, then a number of Indian reservations and colonies in Nevada may be affected by the movement of radioactive wastes on or near their lands. The reservations include: Fort McDermitt, Moapa, and the Western Shoshone land claim area. The Indian colonies of Winnemucca, Battle Mountain, Elko, and Ely may also be affected. Indian tribes, however, can exercise their sovereign rights to prohibit or regulate the transportation and storage of radioactive wastes on their reservations, including treaty lands.

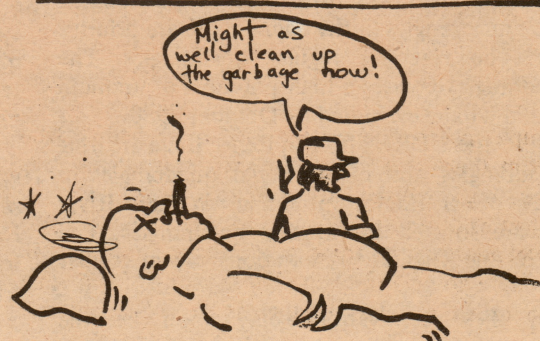
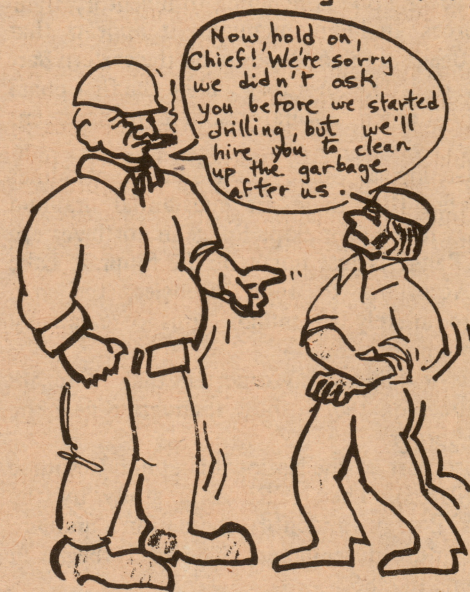
Nevada is also part of another national nuclear waste disposal program. The Department of Energy is now conducting a geological study on the proposed storage of high-level commercial radioactive wastes in southern Nevada. Previous reports by the U.S. Geological Survey and General Accounting Office have recommended the siting of a permanent national nuclear waste disposal site at the Nevada Test Site due to the high level of existing radioactive contamination of the area. These studies will be submitted to the President and Congress for final site selection.

CONCLUSION

The development of the nuclear fuel cycle and its cumulative impacts is the latest threat to the survival of Indian tribes in Nevada. It threatens to destroy the physical and spiritual basis of tribal existence. It will destroy the culture, religion, environment, and sovereignty of Indian people. Therefore, Nevada Indian people are beginning to organize and unite against the nuclear invasion of their homelands.

Dene...

by A. Mountain



Nukes Threaten Nevada Indians

by John Redhouse

(John Redhouse of the American Indian Environmental Council wrote this report as the result of a three-month study on the development of the nuclear fuel cycle and its environmental and cultural impacts on Indian people in the Great Basin.

For more information, please contact: Janet Moose, Nevada Indian Environmental Research Project, 650 S. Rock Blvds., Suite 11, Reno, Nevada, 89502)

This is a brief report on the development of the nuclear fuel cycle and its impact on Indian tribes in Nevada. The nuclear cycle consists of three major phases: uranium exploration and development; nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons; and nuclear waste transportation and storage.

URANIUM DEVELOPMENT

(Uranium mining and milling are the most significant sources of radiation exposure to the public from the entire nuclear fuel cycle, far surpassing nuclear reactors or high-level radioactive waste disposal." (Nuclear Regulatory Commission)

The various stages of uranium development are: exploration, mining, milling, conversion, enrichment, and fabrication. The processed uranium is used to fuel nuclear reactors and weapons. The spent fuel is then reprocessed into plutonium or stored as nuclear wastes.

According to the Nevada Mining Association, Nevada will soon become a major uranium-producing state.

Last year, there were 478,000 acres of federal and private lands held for uranium exploration and development in Nevada. In 1979, most of the significant uranium exploration activities occurred in the McDermitt and East Walker River areas. These areas are located near the Fort McDermitt and Walker River Indian reservations.

Placer Amex Corporation is seeking approvals to construct a uranium mine and mill just west of the Fort McDermitt reservation near the Nevada-Oregon border. The proposed facility will be built on state and federal lands in southeastern Oregon. Placer Amex estimates that there are approximately 15 million tons of uranium ore in their lease area.

Energy Reserves Group, Sierra Del Rio Nuclear, Chevron Resources Company, and Anaconda Company are also conducting uranium exploration activities in the McDermitt area.

The Walker River Tribe is planning to inventory their mineral resources, including uranium. It appears that there are significant uranium deposits on the eastern part of their reservation. The inventory will be the first phase of a federally-funded natural resource management program.

The U.S. Geological Survey and Bureau of Mines recently reported that there are substantial uranium deposits in the Sheldon Antelope Range in northwestern Nevada. The Range is just north of the Summit Lake reservation. According to these agencies, the area contains approximately 18 million tons of relatively low-grade uranium ore.

The Bureau of Mines also reported that there are uranium resources on the Goshute reservation near the Nevada-Utah border.

Nevada is also part of the National Uranium Resource Evaluation (NURE). The NURE is a study by the Department of Energy to identify the nation's uranium resources for future development. The study began in 1976 and will end in 1985.

The evaluation areas are divided into quadrangles. There are 621 quadrangles in the country. 116 are priority quadrangles. The rest are regular quadrangles. The priority quadrangles possess a high potential of uranium occurrence and will be evaluated by October, 1980.

According to the NURE office in Reno, there are nine priority quadrangles and eight regular quadrangles in Nevada. The Fort McDermitt and Walker River reservations are located in priority quadrangles. The Summit Lake and Goshute reservations are in regular quadrangles.

Therefore, these reservations may soon become

specific targets for uranium exploration and development.

NUCLEAR POWER

"They probably think no one will care about putting a nuclear power plant here because there's no one but the coyotes, jackrabbits, and a few Indians." (Corbin Harney, Duck Valley Shoshone)

In 1977, the Western Interstate Energy Board (WIEB) conducted a preliminary study to select future sites for nuclear power plant parks in the western United States. The Board represents 16 western states, including Nevada.

27 areas were initially chosen for study. The study was based on a number of site selection criteria: i.e. population density, water availability, etc. Eight areas were nominated for future nuclear power plant sites. Three of the eight areas are located in Nevada. The sites are: Galt, Desert Valley, and Owyhee.

Galt is 35 miles north of Las Vegas. Desert Valley is 45 miles southeast of the Summit Lake reservation. Owyhee is located on the Duck Valley reservation.

Due to the following factors, there may be more site-specific studies for these areas:

- The temporary moratorium on approvals of new nuclear reactors will be lifted by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in Spring, 1980.

- President Carter recently stated that nuclear power is still an important part of the national energy program. He is also proposing to increase federal aid to the nuclear industry and stepped up the licensing process.

- The Three Mile Island Commission report recommended future sites of nuclear power plants in areas of low population density. The Desert Valley and Owyhee sites are considered to be lowly-populated areas.

- A large Nevada nuclear power plant may be needed to fuel the MX missile system.

According to the WIEB report, the generating capacity of the proposed nuclear power plant parks range from 6 to 18 gigawatts. One gigawatt is equivalent to 1,000 megawatts. An 18 gigawatt nuclear power plant facility will be ten times larger than the nuclear plant at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania.

MX MISSILE

"It is ironic that the United States government is violating a treaty with one nation to secure passage of a treaty with another nation." (Carole Wright, Western Shoshone)

On June 8, 1979, President Jimmy Carter approved the research and development of the Missile Experimental (MX) system. It is proposed to be built in Nevada and Utah.

According to President Carter, the MX system is important for the ratification of the SALT II Treaty by the U.S. Senate. SALT II is a nuclear arms control agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Carter also feels that the MX will act as a deterrent to help enforce the provisions of the treaty.

The construction of the MX missile system will be the largest project ever undertaken in the history of mankind. It will be two and a half times larger than the Alaska pipeline effort. In 1989, the completed system will consist of 200 mobile missiles (each carrying 10 nuclear warheads), 4,600 underground shelters, 10,000 miles of roads, 2,000 miles of railroads, 200 350-ton missile transporters, and other project facilities.

The environmental and cultural impacts of the MX system will be tremendous. It will require 24,000 square miles of land, 350,000 acre feet of water, and a temporary influx of 50,000 to 80,000 people. A large part of the Great Basin region will be severely stressed.

A number of Indian reservations in Nevada and Utah will be affected by the proposed MX missile system. The reservations include: South Fork, Ruby Valley, Odger's Ranch, Yomba, Duckwater, and Goshute. Yet, the federal government has not properly consulted these tribes about the MX project and its impacts.

The MX system will also directly interfere with the

Western Shoshone land claim. The Temoak Band of the Western Shoshone Tribe is asserting a superior legal claim to approximately 16 million acres of land in Nevada. Their claim is based on the 1863 Ruby Valley Treaty with the U.S. government. The treaty recognized the Western Shoshone's aboriginal ownership of their lands in the Great Basin.

Treaties signed between the U.S. government and sovereign Indian nations are the supreme law of the land. The Western Shoshone's aboriginal title to their land was never legally extinguished. Only Congress can abrogate a treaty and extinguish title. They have not done so. Therefore, the traditional land rights of the Western Shoshone people should still be in full force and effect.

The Western Shoshone land claims litigation, however, is still pending in two federal district court cases. The cases are: *Temoak Band vs. United States* and *United States vs. Mary and Carrie Dann*. The U.S. Supreme Court recently denied a Western Shoshone appeal in a third case.

The Western Shoshone and Goshute tribes also own significant surface and ground water rights in the MX project area. The doctrine of Indian reserved water rights has been upheld by two major U.S. Supreme Court decisions.

The MX system and accompanying boomtown will disrupt the cultural lifestyles of Indian people in Nevada and Utah. Traditional hunting, fishing, grazing, gathering, and religious practices will be restricted. Sacred lands will be desecrated. In a larger sense, the whole world view and way of life of Indian tribal existence in the Great Basin may soon be destroyed.

The majority of Nevada Indian people oppose the MX missile system. The Intertribal Council of Nevada (ITCN) recently voted to oppose the MX and other nuclear projects on their lands. The ITCN represents all of the Indian reservations and colonies in Nevada. The Western Shoshone Sacred Land Association, United Paiutes, Inc., and Native Nevadans for Political Education and Action also oppose the MX system.

NUCLEAR TESTING

"The radioactive fallout issue may well be the major domestic health concern of this century we face in this nation." (Nevada Governor, Robert List)

In 1951, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) began to conduct a nuclear weapons testing program at the Nevada Test Site. In 1962, the AEC halted atmospheric testing due to the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union. Underground nuclear testing, however, is still permitted.

The Nevada Test Site is the largest active nuclear testing site in the country. 543 of 670 announced tests by the federal government has been conducted at the Nevada Test Site. Not all of the nuclear tests are announced.

Radioactive fallout from the atmospheric and underground nuclear testing is a major public health issue in Nevada, Utah, and Arizona. Approximately 600 non-Indians have filed lawsuits against the government for damages from the fallout. Congressional legislation has also been introduced to provide monetary compensation for the fallout victims and their dependents.

The radioactive fallout and groundwater contamination may also be affecting the Southern Paiute people, including the Moapa reservation in Nevada. According to Moapa Chairman Preston Tom, several tribal members have developed symptoms of skin cancer. Chairman Tom also said that the Indian Health Service had not conducted a survey on the health effects of the fallout on the local Indian people.

In addition, the Nevada Test Site is located on the Western Shoshone aboriginal land claim area.

NUCLEAR WASTES

"Public acceptance of high-level waste repository at the Nevada Test Site is highly probable in view of extensive use for nuclear weapons testing. Strontium and cesium, along with other radioactive contaminants

NEVADA NUKES CONTINUED PAGE 27

BLACK HILLS 1980

INTERNATIONAL SURVIVAL GATHERING

July 18-27

A MESSAGE FROM THE BLACK HILLS ALLIANCE

The Black Hills of South Dakota are in danger of becoming a dead land. We, who live in their shadows, feel that our survival is at stake. This mountain region rising majestically from the surrounding northern Great Plains contains nearly every mineral on earth. Today, 27 of the most powerful corporations in the world plan to remove these resources—particularly uranium, gold and coal—and in the process, destroy our environment.

If we do not act, the natural bodies of water above and below the surface of the Great Plains will be contaminated and reduced to a quality that can no longer support our life—any life. Land and water consumed by destructive, non-renewable energy production will be permanently taken away from farmers, ranchers and wildlife. The west already has very limited water in its extensive underground containers (aquifers). Seams of coal form natural aquifers and stripping the coal away wrecks the water's container. Drilling into the earth in search of uranium causes radioactive water to mix with pure water thus making all the water radioactive. We can't allow these things to happen.



The Black Hills Alliance, recognizes that the essential question before people is one of Survival. We are organizing the 1980 Black Hills International Survival Gathering with the understanding that similar threats to life are being faced by every community on earth. We have joined together—ranchers, workers, home makers, Native Americans, students, business people and others—to save the Black Hills. The Survival Gathering is an opportunity for you to join us to seek and present a way for all life to be rescued.

Preparations for the July 18 to 27th Survival Gathering are in full swing. We are expecting people to be participants, not merely spectators. People will be united with a serious intent to offer documentation and seek technical assistance to take back to their communities. We regard these months of preliminary organizing to be as vital as the event and encourage all serious people to take an active role in building support and energy towards the common goal of survival. We are building a network that will go far beyond the Summer of 1980.

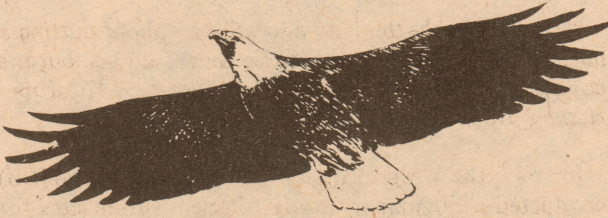
As the world economy closes in on us and shortages become more of a world-wide reality, we must realize that we are not enemies. There is enough material on earth for all to live a decent life. We can organize ourselves in such a way to provide for all life. Race has been pitted against race and community against community for too long. Radiation and acid rain have no boundaries. They threaten the survival of us all. As Tatanka Iyotake (Sitting Bull) said, "Let us put our minds together and see what life we will make for our children."



There will be three major, simultaneous events taking place during the ten days of the Gathering. They are as follows:

I. A Citizens' Review Commission on Energy Development Corporations (Tribunal). Participants will present testimony and documentation on practices and policies that threaten the survival of our communities: local, national, and international. The information will form a base to plan effective means to neutralize corporate dangers and create life—sustaining alternatives.

The Tribunal, as currently envisioned, will be an eight



day examination of the various threats to our survival represented by the local, regional, national and international activities and investments of five energy developing corporations involved in exploration or mining ventures in the Black Hills. These five corporations are Union Carbide, Kerr-McGee, Burlington Northern Railroad, Rio Algom Ltd. and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). TVA is not a corporation but a quasi-governmental utility with mining and milling interests throughout the U.S. It is also the largest utility in the country.

The tribunal will focus attention on the activities of these corporations in the Black Hills as a beginning point. It will also begin by explaining the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty with the Lakota and Arapaho Indians which has never been invalidated. The treaty affirmed the Lakotas' ownership of the Black Hills.

Witnesses will be brought before the board of the Tribunal to give their explanation of the threats to survival as represented by the energy developing corporations. These witnesses will be local South Dakota residents, residents near mining or milling facilities elsewhere in the US, experts familiar with the environmental and health effects of the mining and milling operations, and international witnesses who will describe threats presented by the energy developing corporations in their particular country.

II. An Alternative Technology/Land Self-Sufficient Project. Participants will build a model self-sufficient community with working alternative energy projects that can be applied to the further decentralization of energy and improved quality of life. Corresponding workshops will explain each demonstration project and instruct on its design and construction, as well as its application in local communities.

III. A Forum on Indian Genocide and the Planned Extinction of the Family Ranch and Farm. Methods that have been used against people worldwide in order to dominate their resources will be analyzed and documented.

For hundreds of years Indians have had their life-giving resources destroyed and have faced displacement from their homelands and forced assimilation. The corporate value system continues to threaten them and family farmers and ranchers as well. In 1979 alone 40,000 U.S. family ranches and farms were eliminated.

With the knowledge gained through this forum we will work to save what remains of our various rural ways of life so that we may build a more fertile environment.



A TIME FOR ACTION

The Survival Gathering can contribute to the end of our feeling of helplessness and the beginning of building our destiny. We can utilize it as a means to advance all of our efforts, as we organize properly and use each of the work areas to supply the needs of the Gathering and an on-going network.

This is the time to make solid commitment for a future. We don't want endorsement without action: We don't need rhetoric — we need solutions and dependable groups of people willing to work. *The future of the coming generations is at stake.*

SEVEN SUPPORT WORK AREAS

1. National Coordinating Office
2. Security/Peace Keepers
3. Mobilization/Transportation

If you are interested in mobilizing local communities and setting up transportation centers, contact our office immediately.

4. Fundraising

The Gathering is limited only by our access to resources.

5. Education for Survival

People in alternative education will develop curricula around Gathering issues to be used in traditional and alternative education systems. They will also establish a program to involve younger people in the Gathering.

6. Health for Survival

Health workers will supply health and medical facilities and give participants information needed to reduce dependence on existing institutions and to practice alternatives.

7. Communications/Media



The Black Hills Alliance is an outreach/communications organization which serves as a resource to all environmentally concerned individuals and groups. We have the Research and Documentation Center, legal expertise and organizing experience, as well as writing and speaking specialists. We are here to help all the people in struggles for safe energy development, community control of the earth's resources, and self-determination for all.

The B.H.A. exists to encourage the community education process. A unified coalition benefits from the varied backgrounds and experiences of its members. It is together that we can halt big, monied interests which threaten to exploit our towns and our lands. And it is together that we can strategize for a future that provides food and energy for all the people, based on an economy that maximizes employment, energy efficiency, and the health and prosperity of our families and communities.

Support the March on Washington
April 26, 1980
Stop Nuclear Power ★ Zero Nuclear
Weapons ★ Full Employment ★ Safe Energy
★ Honor Native American Treaties ★
Sponsored by
Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World
236 Massachusetts Ave. NE, No. 506
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-5228

BLACK HILLS ALLIANCE

[605] 342-5127

P.O. BOX 2508
RAPID CITY,
S.D. 57701

Children's Notes

CHILDREN JOIN THE STRUGGLE

This is Aronienens, who is Mohawk. He is four years old and he was part of a demonstration outside the Malone, New York courthouse.

His father is Sakokwenonkwaw who is one of the chiefs of the Mohawk Nation. (See article: Sakokwenonkwaw Speaks, Winter 1979 issue)

The Akwesasne Mohawks live on the St. Lawrence River. Their land — they call it their Territory — is in both the United States and Canada on the map, but the Mohawks are citizens of the Mohawk Nation and live in Mohawk Territory. They are not citizens of the U.S. or Canada.

The Mohawks have their own Way of Life and are People of the Longhouse. The means that they have their own language (Mohawk) which almost everyone speaks, even the little children. They have their own government. They have ceremonies to thank the Creator for the Natural World which means they give thanks for the trees, water, grass, winds, medicine plants, animals, fish, birds, sun, and the moon. They have their very own style of clothing and their own foods such as maple syrup, corn, beans, and squash. All of this was handed down from their ancestors who lived a long time ago.

The Mohawks also have treaties, which are agreements between Nations, with the Dutch, the French and the United States.

Today there are problems for the Mohawks because New York State and the United States government are trying to make the Mohawks forget their own ways and become United States citizens. This would mean that they could no longer use their own laws and would have to use the United States and New York State laws.

The Mohawk people are very upset about all of this. Since they have had their own laws for a long time, which is their right as a Nation of Sovereign People, they are not willing to give up their own way of government.

Last May 22, 1979, one of the Chiefs of the Mohawks found some people from a U.S. program cutting trees on his land without permission. He told them to stop cutting the trees because they had no right to cut trees on his family's land. Everyone in this country has the right to stop this kind of wrongdoing. The Chief took the peoples chainsaws so that he would be sure they would stop cutting his trees. They all agreed to meet in a few days and talk this over and reach an agreement.

However, the U.S. program people went to the District Attorney of Franklin County, New York and had charges of third degree grand larceny (which means theft) brought against Chief Thompson. The New York State Police and the Indian Police came to arrest Chief Thompson and they beat him and pulled some of his hair out. They also hit a older woman who had to go to the hospital because the police hurt her.

The Mohawk people were, of course, upset that something like this would happen on their Territory. So they had a meeting and decided to ask the Indian Police force to quit being police because these policemen had been very mean to the people for a long, long time.



The way the government of the Mohawk people works is that when someone is doing something wrong, in this case the Indian Police, they give them three warnings, or chances, to correct their behavior. The Chiefs Council, there are nine Chiefs in the Mohawk Nation, asked the Indian Police to resign three times and each time the Indian Police refused to resign. So on May 29, 1979, the Chiefs turned the matter over to the people, and the people took over the police station for one day. They left the police station later in the day because it was time for the elderly people to eat and they didn't want to interfere with the edlerly feeding.

The Indian Police went again to the District Attorney of Franklin County, New York and had charges brought against the Mohawk People. The Franklin County Grand Jury handed down 21 sealed indictments. This means that there are 21 warrants to arrest people, but they did not let people know they were on the warrant so no one knew exactly who was on the warrant.

The Mohawk people then formed a camp around Chief Thompsons house, this was on August 4, 1979, to protect themselves from the New York State Police and the Indian Police. Some people were found outside of the camp and were arrested and later released on bail.

On August 29, 1979, Aronienens, his sisters, his mother and all the other children and their mothers were put on a raft and they went across the wide, swift waters of the St. Lawrence River to safety. As the raft swayed and rose up and down with the swift waves of the St. Lawrence River, the children didn't know if they would ever see their fathers alive again. It was a very frightening time for everyone. The New York State Police had come early in the morning, just before dawn. There were many police cars and they surrounded the camp. The day before the State Police had said they were going to arrest the Mohawk people even if someone was killed during the arrests. It looked like there was going to be a massacre of the Mohawk people, the same way the Lakota's were massacred in 1890.

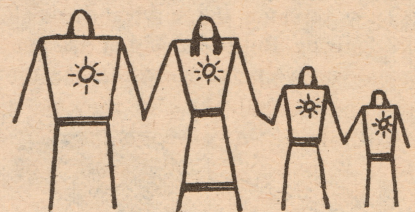
Many people around the world were on the telephones that day calling the Governor of New York and asking him not to do this horrible act.

About 3 p.m. that day the New York State Police got back in their cars and drove away. Aronienens and all the children and their mothers were brought back across the St. Lawrence River to be with their fathers once again.

On November 15, 1979 while Aronienens and others were protesting outside the courtroom the people who had been arrested (six people) went to court. The lawyers case which they presented to the Judge said that Franklin County, New York State, and the United States government do not have any jurisdiction over Mohawk land or Mohawk people because of the treaties. This means that in Mohawk Territory, Mohawk laws are used — not Franklin County, New York, or U.S. laws. The right to govern themselves is part of Mohawk Treaty Rights.

The people are still in the camp to protect themselves from the New York State Police and they continue to use their own Mohawk laws.

Aronienens is carrying this sign which says Mohawk Sovereignty. Sovereignty means that it is the Mohawks right to govern themselves under their own laws and to continue following their own Way of Life. Aronienens father is believed to be on the list of warrants. So it is very important for Aronienens to be part of this protest because he is standing up for not only his father but all the Mohawk people.



A QUESTION FOR THOUGHT

Aronienens is involved in a protest which is very, very real. After you have read this article, please write and send to us a paragraph, or two, telling us your feelings about why young Indian people need to become involved in standing up for our people. Send it to: The Childrens "Notes," AKWESASNE NOTES, MOHAWK NATION, via ROOSEVELTOWN, N.Y. 13683.

fulfilling its treaty obligations (referring to the Fort Stanwix and Canadaigua treaties) and that the matter is one of 'international concern.' " When Capanna returns to Italy, he told reporters, that he will tell the 410 member body (European Parliament) that indeed there are violations of Mohawk sovereignty based on the treaties, and based on the Helsinki declaration, he will recommend a complaint be filed with the United Nations.

Mr. Capanna further told reporters that he had written letters to both the Governor of New York, Hugh Carey, and to President Jimmy Carter requesting meetings with them about the Mohawk Nation. He further said that, "Now is a good chance for (President Carter) to show if his intentions (about human rights) are only in his words." This is the first time that a outside country had been vocal in alleging violations of human rights in the United States.

Mr. Capanna also said that he had "seen with his own eyes" the poisonous pollution that covers Akwesasne everyday.

The next speaker was John Mohawk who had just returned from Iran. He had observed the Iranian people during the early part of February and as he saw the oppression of the Iranian people and the U.S. interference in their internal affairs he began to clearly see the similarities of the two struggles.

"Mohawk explained he believes there are parallels between the history of the Mohawk Nation in the 1940s and '50s and the Indians' treatment by the state and federal government during that time period, and the United States' handling of internal affairs in Iran during the same time span.

In 1948 and 1952, the traditionalist have pointed out, the U.S. Congress gave New York State criminal and civil jurisdiction over the people of the Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy, among the traditional Indians - who are part of a sovereign nation, subject only to that (Mohawk) Nations' laws - say is a violation of treaty agreements.

While the transfer of power was taking place at the federal and state levels, Mohawk said, the United States was interfering in the sovereign affairs of Iran, placing the Shah back at the helm of that nation's government.

In each instance, Mohawk said, 'The United States overturned the right of self-determination for both the Mohawk Nation and Iran.'

The situation in both cases continued to deteriorate over the past 30 years, Mohawk indicated, leading to the overthrow of the Shah and the take-over of the U.S. Embassy in Iran on the one hand, and a confrontation between traditional Indians and the New York State judicial system on the other."

The drum began with its steady beat which is the beat of the Mother Earth and of each human being, as we again marched to City Hall. We returned to the encampment feeling that we had stood proudly for our people on that cold winter day.

THE PARTING

We had deep feeling coming from within that put lumps in our throats as we came to say "Onen" (goodbye) to "our Luciano" and Mario Capanna as they prepared to leave for Italy. It was a difficult time for all of us. How do you say goodbye to people who have had such an impact on your life, first, simply because they are good people, and secondly, because they understand and share our struggle. Tears flowed as they left, good words were spoken, and our good feeling went with them on their journey.

Luciano wrote a message to the people urging them to remain strong in the struggle and telling us that although he was far away he was still with us - he would not forget us - and he taped it to the childrens schoolroom wall where everyone could see it.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

None of us know how this struggle will be resolved but we do know that what we receive from our fellow human beings is invaluable and the struggle will go on in order to provide a better, cleaner, healthier world for the seven generations to come.

-KANEKONAH

uranium. In 1976, another report explains, NARF did some of the same favors for the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT).

That information raises more questions about NARF. During the early days of the organization, (before the heavy influx of federal funds,) NARF was the law firm for the Traditional Hopis in their battle to stop the destruction of Black Mesa. The adversary in that case was the Hopi Tribal council which had signed the lease under which the Peabody Coal Company was operating. The major legal argument which the Traditional Hopis raised in the case was that the Hopi Tribal Council was illegal, an argument which the court refused to hear on the basis of the Sovereign Immunity doctrine. The Traditional Hopis and NARF lost that case.

We asked John Echohawk if there wasn't some kind of conflict in NARF's actions in representing the Traditional Hopis against the Hopi Tribal Council and then becoming the lawyer for CERT of which the HOpi Tribal Council was a leading member. He said that NARF had discussed a possible conflict of interest, but that the Hopi Tribal Council had joined CERT at a date after the Black Mesa lawsuit had ended. Therefore, he thought, there was no conflict.

We then asked him if he thought that, since NARF had worked so closely with the federal government and CERT, and since those organizations had as their program the development of natural resources in Indian country, that this history of representation might preclude NARF from representing any group which now wished to halt development. He said that he felt that NARF would not be deterred from representing a group opposed to development even though they had a pro-development history.

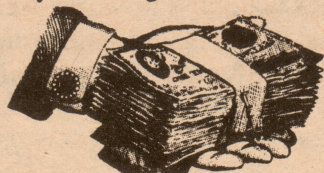
There is little question that NARF has a history of appearing to be on both sides of the fence at the same time. While NARF was defending the Traditional Hopis against a development scheme, they were also midwives to CERT, and had already been nursemaids to NANDRF. NARF apparently doesn't have any problems with the implications of "guilt by association." They worked closely with John Boyden in a Northern Ute matter at the time they were defending the Traditional Hopis. John Boyden is an attorney for the Hopi Tribal Council.

NARF Director John Echohawk maintains that all these seeming contradictions don't mean anything, that NARF does its best to provide the best legal service to Indians that they can. "We've developed some power, some influence," he said. "And that's going to help them (Indian people) directly. We know how to get things done, and we do it.... We've represented a lot of Indian people. We'll just let the facts speak for themselves."

Most of NARF's clients seem to be unaware that their lawyers are funded by their adversary. We know of no clients to whom NARF has explained the canon of legal ethics which apply to that situation, and we know of none who have approved of NARF's use of federal funds to litigate their case. At least one NARF attorney has actually been giving people factually wrong information. (For more "facts" about NARF, please read the article on the Maine land claims settlement in this issue - Ed.) The facts seem to suggest that the law firm which a decade ago showed promise of becoming a prestigious law firm defending Native people's rights similar to the NAACP Legal Defense Program or the lawyer's guild has instead become a largely federally-funded group which has apparently committed blatant violations of the canon of legal ethics concerning the requirement of disclosure to clients of compensation from a potential adversary.

That fact should be a serious disappointment to Native people in the United States. NARF has been successful, however, in placing its people in high-level government positions, and in attracting government attorneys into its fold.

John Echohawk thinks that NARF's overall effort has been fruitful. "We think this thing (NARF) has been successful," he told us. The frightening thing is, ironically, maybe he's right about that.



SHEDDING A LOSING ATTITUDE

Knowing their chances of winning appeals to the NRC were slim, the tribes played all the cards at their disposal. Breaking a defeatist attitude was first priority.

"We had tribal members and staff who believed 'you can't fight city hall,'" said Andy Fernando, Upper Skagit Vice Chairman. "So we gathered a small tribal working group that wouldn't take 'no' for an answer from anyone."

Eventually the job went to the Skagit System Cooperative, where the tribes' best biological and administrative expertise existed. An informal environmental projects unit evolved to tap congressional and tribal support, motivate tribal voting and political action, press legal challenges and conduct supportive research. The tribes' biggest problem was getting the right kind of help.

"Some congressional committees and federal agencies worried over providing overt assistance," Fernando said. "We received a lot of hesitant low-key help, or outright refusals to tackle our problems from some agencies.

"On the other hand, zealous groups such as Greenpeace wanted to scale fences and block bulldozers at the construction site, although no construction had started. It was difficult to explain that our very legalistic and methodical efforts were designed to prevent any construction. We met some very blank stares."

Backed by a \$49,000 Bureau of Indian Affairs grant to study air and water quality, economics, hydrology and salmon toxicology, plus a \$3,000 grant from the Tribal Sovereignty Program of the Youth Project, the Skagit Tribes built a solid evidence base to use in any forum.

"We've held the NRC at bay for a year and a half on very shaky ground," Russ Busch said. "It's bought us time to gather evidence that will expose the weaknesses in the NRC Environmental Statement."

Fernando added, "Skagit County has now adopted our arguments on economics, emergency evacuation, and damage to local governments, including the tribes.

Our testimony helped defeat a move by Puget Power to have the nuclear plant site remain zoned industrial. Barring legal action the site will revert to forestry-agricultural zoning January 1, 1980."

With victories in November's election and the county commission, a virtual moratorium on new plants since the Three-Mile Island, and Puget Power's announcement to delay two more years, the tribes seem to have achieved their goal. But no one is certain. "We have to assume nothing has changed," said Fernando.

"Puget Power is still seeking its federal license and has its state license. Its taken the zoning issue to court and may win. Now a bill in Congress could underwrite nuclear plant costs in the Northwest with federal money, eliminating financial roadblocks in the private sector.

"Puget may be waiting for the non-Indian anti-nuclear group to disperse, for Three-Mile Island to fade away, and for the Tribes to be side-tracked on the other half dozen Skagit environmental issues. They will be back."

In the meantime, the Skagit Tribes are continuing their research and looking for the "smoking gun" that will bury these nuclear plants forever. They are sharing their experience and research with other Indian people faced with nuclear development.

"I fish on the river near where the intake wells would be, and I can see Bacus Hill from my family's camp," said Fernando. "I look up there often and say to myself, 'We don't have to accept a nuclear plant here, nor do any Indians anywhere.'"



Stone Giants & Flying Heads, by Joseph Bruchac. Illustrated by Kahonhes & Clayton Brascoupe. \$3.95

Invasion of America, by Francis Jennings. Excellent work on Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest. \$4.95.

Sitting Bull, by Grant MacEwan. The years in Canada. \$4.95.

LEGAL

Native Rights in Canada, by Cumming and Mickenberg. To provide Native peoples of Canada and their legal advisors with the necessary comprehensive treatise on the law of aboriginal rights. \$8.95.

CONTEMPORARY

A detailed black and white illustration of a single feather, showing its quill and barbs. The feather is oriented horizontally, with the quill on the left and the barbs extending to the right. The barbs are finely detailed with numerous small lines, giving the feather a textured appearance. The quill is shown with a few larger, more distinct barbs. The entire illustration is rendered in a classic, hand-drawn style.

Red Power, by Alvin Josephy. The Native peoples' fight for freedom. \$2.95.

PHILOSOPHY

My Cree People, by Adolf Hungry Wolf
A Good Medicine book. \$2.50.

World's Rim, by Hartley Burr Alexander. Great Mysteries of the North American Indian. \$2.95.



HISTORICAL

Canadian Indian, by E. Palmer Patterson
II. A history since 1500. \$3.00.



MITTENS NOW AVAILABLE

The people encamped in Raquette Point at Akwesasne have begun to produce a line of felt-lined, beaded moose hide mittens with which they hope to help finance the drawn-out struggle of the Mohawk Nation.

AKWESASNE NOTES is proud to offer these fine mittens to our readership. They come in three sizes.

Men's	\$45.00
Women's	\$35.00
Children's	\$25.00



TAPES Available Too

YOU ARE ON INDIAN LAND

A radio series that won much acclaim when aired by 200 member stations of National Public Radio, the following nine cassettes are programs from the series that presents the voice of Traditional Native People speaking about Native issues. We are continuing to make available materials for your class, school, library, or for your personal information. Produced by Louie Cook with Akwesasne Notes.

STATEMENT FROM THE LONGHOUSE:

An official statement of the traditional government of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne. Located on the St. Lawrence River, Akwesasne is bordered by Canada on one side, and the United States on the other. During an interview granted to CBC, Mohawk leaders speak on the issue of sovereignty. One of the Mohawk Sub-Chiefs speaks about diversity in nature and the right of all peoples to follow their original instructions. Also included is a short talk by Cheryl Buchanan of the Black Resource Center in Brisbane, Australia, which gives an introduction to the situation of Native people in Australia.

THE NATURAL WORLD, PRINCIPLES, AND TREATIES:

Oren Lyons, Iroquois statesman from Onondaga, talks about living in a natural world and the importance of the treaties in survival. Highly recommended.

ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND:

Mohawk poet Peter Blue Cloud looks at the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz in retrospect. Blue Cloud, who edited the book "Alcatraz is not An Island", remembers Mohawk leader Richard Oakes. Highlights of a speech by

Oakes forecast the occupation of our lands as an extension of the Alcatraz Island occupation.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF NATIVE PEOPLE:

Tehanetorens (Ray Fadden) gives a talk on the many contributions the Native people have given to the world. An excellent broad perspective of the misconceptions that non-Indians too often have of Native peoples. Fine material for young people in the process of unlearning Indian stereotypes.

I AM NATIVE:

Aztec poet Juan Reyna relates the experience of Native people in occupied Aztlan, talks about being "Chicano", and tells how he found his own direction. Leaving migrant labor behind at age 9, he has learned that "You can never be free being something that you're not." Included are two of his poems mixed with music from Daniel Valdez of El Teatro Campesino.

GOD IS RED:

Vine Deloria, Jr., noted Lakota philosopher, author, and attorney, speaks on the importance of Native religious values for the Native movement and the future of North America. He offers an alternative to Christianity through a return to Native concepts of nature which have roots in this land.

HISTORY OF THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY:

Tehanetorens (Ray Fadden), founder and director of the Six Nations Museum in Onchiota, N.Y., reads a beaded record belt explaining the history of the Six Nations, — the first true democracy upon which the United States Constitution was based.

PRICE: \$5 ea., \$38 per set of nine. Order from Akwesasne Notes.

SKILLS & HOW TO

American Indian Design and Decoration, by LeRoy H. Appleton. 700 illustrations, paperback \$5.00.

American Indian Medicines, by Virgil Vogel. Discusses traditional medicines and ways of combating disease. Hardcover, \$19.90.

American Indian Needlepoint Design, by Roslyn Epstein. Designs for many projects. Paperback, \$1.50.

Blackfoot Craftworkers Book No. 15, by Adolph Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine Book. Paperback, \$3.50.

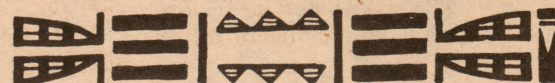
Authentic Indian Designs, by Maria Naylor, 700 illustrations. Paperback, \$6.00.

Cherokee Cooklore, by Mary Chiltoskey. \$1.25.

Cherokee Plants, by Mary Chiltoskey. \$1.50.

Cherokee Words, by Mary Chiltoskey. \$1.25.

Craft Manual of Native American Indian Footwear, by George White. Introduction to 25 different styles of footwear. \$2.25.



Full Color American Indian Designs for Needlepoint Rugs, by D. Story. 32 charted plates for easy use. \$2.00.

Games of the North American Indian, by Steward Culin. A most complete work of the games of North American Indians. Paperback, \$10.00.

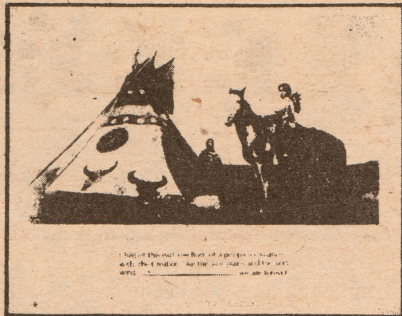
How Indians Used Wild Plants For Food and Crafts, by Frances Densmore. \$2.75.

Indian Basketry, by George Wharton James, with over 250 illustrations. \$3.50.

Indian Herbology of North America, by Alma R. Hutchens. \$11.00.

Indian Scout Craft and Lore, by Charles Eastman. Description and feelings he developed to become an Indian scout. \$2.00.

Indian Sign Language, by William Tomkins. Signs to convey meanings of over 870 words. \$1.50.



PAINTED TIPI 30



THREE SISTERS 7



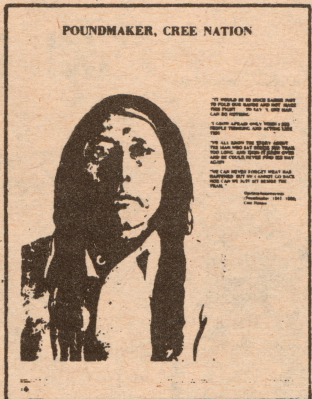
SHRINE OF HYPOCRISY 24



THREE HORSEMEN 12



ZUNI GOVERNOR 5



POUNDMAKER 9



FLATHEAD CHIEF 19



WOUNDED KNEE 3



DAN KATCHONGVA 15



FIRE CARRIER 13



UNITY UNDER CREATION 31



CIRCLE OF LIFE 25



SHACKLED NATIVE 10



GRANDMA HUNTER 8



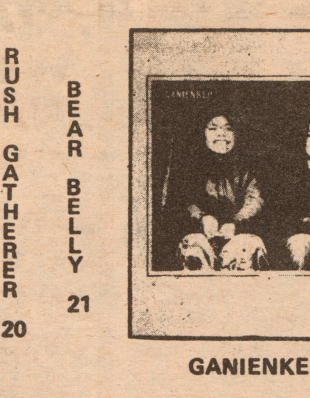
THE THINGS THAT ARE OURS 29



SITTING BULL 6



OUR IDEAS 16



RUSH GATHERER 20



WINTU WOMAN 23



GANIENKEH POSTER 14

POSTERS

ORDER FORM

PLEASE PREPAY ORDERS OF \$25.00 OR LESS

SHIP THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW TO:

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

HOW MANY	ITEM	PRICE	TOTAL



Oren Lyons Print \$5.00

Wholesale quantities: The posters are excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows. 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for \$50.00

Posters are 17 by 22 inches and are \$1 each, or 3 for \$2.00. One poster, "Splinters of the Tree," (No. 28) is in full color and are \$2.00 each. Please add \$.25 for cardboard mailing tube. Posters are available in wholesale quantities at \$50.00 for an assortment of 100. We reserve the right to substitute in selections of posters when we are out of stock. ORDER FROM:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683

SEND A SAMPLE COPY OF NOTES TO:

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

For each dollar you send we'll send a sample copy and information sheet.

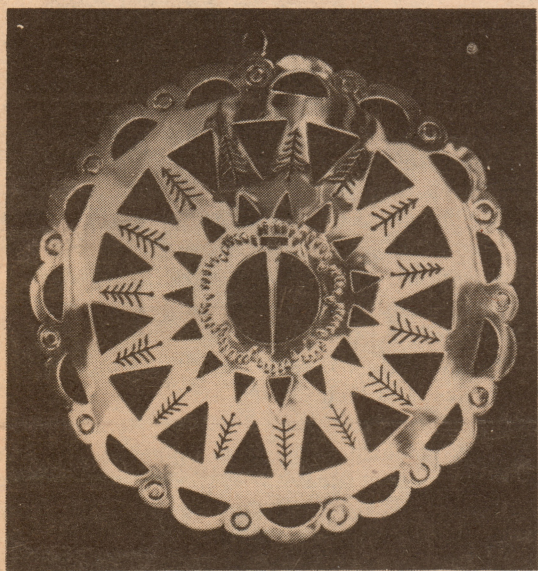
IROQUOIS SILVER



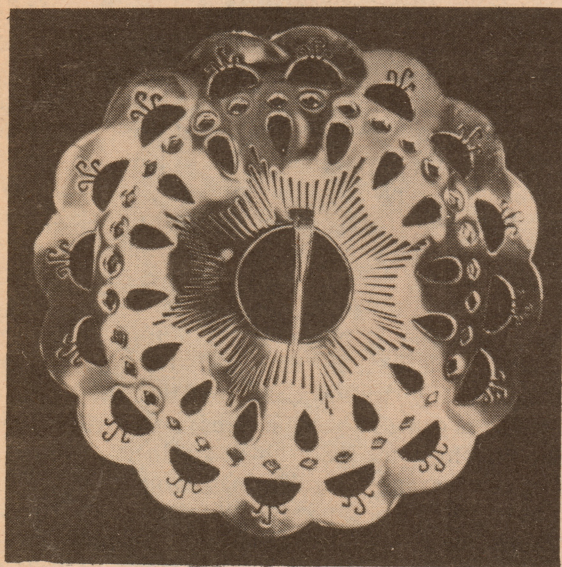
SILVER ARROWHEAD PENDANT

This is a handcrafted sterling silver arrowhead pendant that comes with an 18" silver chain. \$14.50.

a



b



IROQUOIS BROACHES

These hand-made sterling silver broaches come in three sizes and can be worn with a chain as a pendant. Specify Iroquois Broach Style A or Iroquois Broach Style B.

Large (2 7/8" diameter) \$120 each; Medium (2 1/8") \$90 each; and Small \$60 each.

NOTE TO CUSTOMERS: Because of the continuous fluctuation in silver prices, these prices will be in effect only until November 15, 1979. We will try our best to keep the prices of Indian jewelry down, but the price of silver has skyrocketed.

VOICES FROM THE EARTH



Speaker's Bureau

Within the past year the efforts of the U.S. government and multinational corporations have intensified to remove Native Peoples from their lands, to open new areas up to large scale exploitation, and to end Native resistance.

* In the Southwest, the U.S. government is attempting to forcibly relocate over 6000 Hopi and Dine (Navajo) people from their home lands, and open the area to large scale uranium stripmining.

* The Missouri River Basin has been declared a "national sacrifice area" to be depleted of its mineral, timber, and water resources. The Indian Claims Commission is attempting to wipe out Native claims to the Black Hills, and stop the one main area of resistance to this exploitation.

* Since June, the Mohawk Nation has been in a state of siege to prevent the arrests of Mohawk spiritual and political leaders by New York State Police.

In an effort to bring about accurate and concise information on these struggles, the VOICES FROM THE EARTH - Speaker's Bureau - is contracting with individuals from the affected areas to be available to

come and visit your community, group, campus, or organization. The honorarium for speakers is \$600.00, plus travel and expenses. For scheduling contact either Mike Myers of Ed Benedict at 518-358-9531. Monies earned from speaking engagement go directly to the peoples, organizations, or nations being represented. VOICES FROM THE EARTH receives a 10% commission for acting as agent and organizer.

Speakers presently available are:

* Ateronhiatakon - War Chief of the Mohawk Nation, and community organizer;

* Skaroniati - member of the Mohawk Nation and an education specialist in bi-lingual programs;

* Tekanientarekwen - member of the Mohawk Nation, a community activist/worker;

* Sotsisowah - Editor of Akwesasne Notes;

* Segwalise - Associated Editor of Akwesasne Notes;

* Lee Lyons - a member of the Seneca Nation, assistant professor at the State University of New York at Buffalo;

* Bruce Elijah - Faithkeeper of the Oneida Nation.

Upon request we can have speakers available from the Dine (Navajo) Nation, Hopi Nation, Lakota (Sioux) Nation, Black Hills Alliance, and other nations and organizations.

SPECIAL SALE

OUR PUBS

**A MESSAGE TO ALL
PEOPLE: HOPI
TURTLE, BEAR &
WOLF
NATIVE COLOURS
CHIMBORAZO
B.I.A., I'M NOT YOUR
INDIAN ANYMORE
SIX NATIONS
MUSEUM SERIES
THE GREAT LAW**

ALL FOR: \$8.00

COMPLETE

**SETS OF MATERIALS
ON LATIN AMERICA**

**IWGIA & NOTES
DOCUMENTS**

\$10.00

**FRESH
FROM THE
PRINTER'S &
BACK ON OUR
SHELVES**

\$6.95

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE



THE PEOPLE ARE STANDING UP

Jake Swamp Speaks

Jake Swamp is one of the chiefs of the Mohawk Nation. This article is part of a taped interview which was given to us by White Buffalo. Jake is believed to be one of the people on the indictment list.

I'd like to talk about the agreements that our people of the Haudenosaunee have made with the different governments that we have encountered in our territories in years past. They tell us that probably the first agreement that was made was between the Dutch and the people of the Haudenosaunee. It took a long time to formalize this agreement. It is called the "Two Row Wampum." It describes how the two different peoples would relate to each other and how they could operate their governments, and how to co-exist with one another in a way of peace. It was symbolically formed in this manner. There was a river that was flowing that they called the River of Life. The Dutch people had a big ship which sailed on it. The reason they had a big ship was they had many things. And they had many shiny things. When they were making this agreement, the Dutch people said to our people - You, the people of the Haudenosaunee, from this on we will be your father and we will take care of you. Our leaders of the Haudenosaunee at that time came back with the natural saying - no, we cannot be your children. Because a father can tell his children what to do. Instead we will travel together on this river of life, side by side. Your government and your religion and everything that you possess you will have in your boat.

And our people will keep the things that they need to survive in their canoes. And they will travel this river side by side. And they will never meet and they will have respect for one another. They will not try to make laws for each other.

This was agreed upon in early days. This was the first treaty that was made between the Europeans people and our people. Now as they were traveling on this river, side by side, there are many symbolic things that are connected with it when they made this agreement.

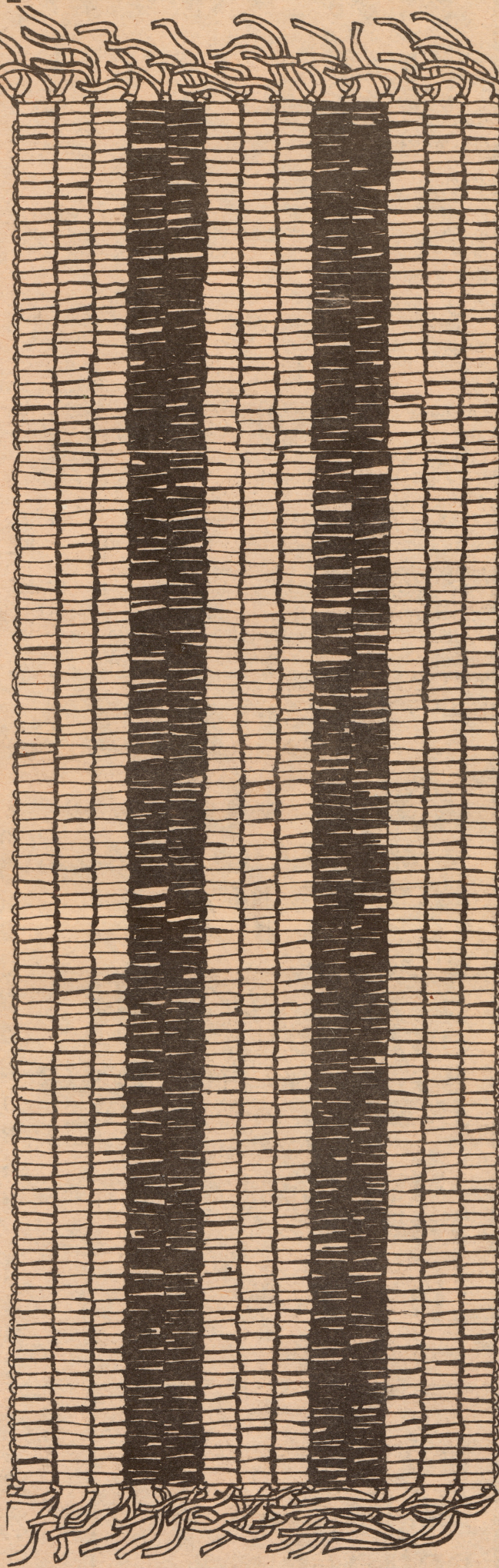
The Dutch people said that they would write it down, this agreement. And our people said that it would be too easy to be destroyed if it was written down. So our people said it would be written down in the wampum. So a wampum belt was made and presented. The Dutch also made a pipe and a silver cup and a chain which would be the symbolism used in later years when they would come together at such and such a time, to renew their friendship. They would then wipe the dust away from their agreements.

But in the meantime, as they were traveling down this river, the Dutch people asked what would happen if one of their people would decide to go into one of the Indian's canoe. The Indian said that our Creator has given our Indian people what is a hard life and a good life. And if he wanted to go into our canoe then it would be a great hardship and they would not be used to it.

And they likewise asked the Dutch people what would happen to the Indian if he wanted to step into the big boat. And it was said inside the big boat there are many shiny objects. There are many things that would detour the mind from the original instructions. They said that it might not be possible, but if this happens maybe some person would want to stay in the boat, canoe, the ship. If they had feet in both, maybe this would happen. That the river might become rough, caused by the big wind. And what would happen to these people who have feet in both the boat and the canoe. They said that they would perish into the river and nobody could help them.

And so, when this treaty was made it took a long time. This happened in the early sixteen hundreds. And this was the basis for all the treaties that came afterwards. These were the rules that were laid out by the Europeans and the Haudenosaunee. When treaties were made with the French it was always mentioned that the basis of the agreement would follow the words that we have in the two row wampum treaty. And also when the treaties were made with the British, these things were used again. And, again with the United States when he came to the Haudenosaunee, seeking peace after the revolutionary war. Again these principles were used.

And later on, right to the present day, we still go to



Washington and we still have in mind to shine up these agreements and to take the dust away.

I would like to go on to talk about other confrontations that we are confronted with today in 1980. Our people are presently defending themselves against the military strength of the U.S. government. Also, at the time there's another unseen enemy that is destroying our people all around us. We see this enemy, but is pretty hard to destroy him. Around our territories are many different kinds of pollution.

At our back door there sits the plant, called the Reynolds Aluminum Plant. They tell us it emits 6,000 pounds a day of fluoride on our lands, on our people.

Long time ago when the instructions were given to our people we were told to give thanks to all the many different things that He has given us, provided for us. To all the grass, waters, the air that we breathe. We give our thanks when we start our meetings. These are the words we use to remind each other that we must have respect for what the Creator has given us, for the Mother Earth, and everything it holds for our benefit. And so it's hard to do this today. Yet we still continue to give thanks. Because we're still here. Because that is our promise to the Creator.

But when all these chemicals are dumped on our people, then we must bring it to the attention of the world to try to reverse this inhumane way of destruction. I have two children myself, who are affected by this already. One is going to a skin specialist but the doctors say they don't know what's causing it. I have another son who is going to a bone specialist, who is getting some kind of bone disease.

Now in the research that the different scientists are doing and the causes of fluoride poisoning, the findings that they find on cattle is that fluoride causes them to loose their teeth, when they eat the grass. Also, their bones become brittle. The cattle, when they have little ones they are sometimes deformed. These are the findings, the facts that they have found within our area. And yet they continue to pollute these lands, with no regard to our human rights.

Again it is given to us in our teachings that we must make a place for our children to live seven generations into the future. And at this time, what chance do we have to make a place for the seventh generation. We would like to make an appeal to the world that together they should re-evaluate all these things. Make the big multi-national corporations realize that there are people that live in this world. They are not just things to be manipulated. People have feelings and people look into the future with a dream that their grandchildren will have a nice place to live someday.

So I sit here as one of their leaders. And I wonder what my grandchildren will say one day if I don't do anything about it today. What will my grandchildren say to each other? What did we try to do? There are many things that have to be weighed. Is it the comforts of home, of life, which make it more complicated in society. Most of the things that are produced in the world today are really not needed. Many useless things. But the big corporations, they don't think about these things. They are blinded by the money that they possess.

We were given prophecies, handed down through the word of mouth. We were told that many things would happen in the future, the things to look out for. Many things have come and gone. We were told that one day the trees would start dying and as we look about the trees are indeed dying. We were also told that the rivers would become sick and the fish would come to the top on their bellies. We are seeing these things today. We were told that at one point in history, in time, that children will be born deformed. We have seen these things already. We were also told that the air that we breathe is going to become cloudy. You will hardly see the sun anymore. That's how dirty the air will be. And this is happening today, like many other things. We were also told that one day in the future the strawberries that we see that grows in the fields, we would no longer see the strawberries. They would not come back. But we would use the leaves, the red leaves on the strawberry plants and we would still continue to give thanks to the ceremony of the strawberry.

In one of the passages in the opening ritual it states that long time ago the Creator buried beneath the Earth, inside the earth, great serpents as it was described. That one day, if these serpents surfaced, they might be so bad that it might cause people to die off - just to see these things come about and roam about on the earth. And as we watch around us and what's going on, we see the uranium being mined - is this what it meant? Is this what is going to destroy the people of the world? But we, as Haudenosaunee People, Indian People, we will continue to give thanks with whatever means we have left and whatever we're able to do. But we will never lose sight of what the Creator intended us to do.